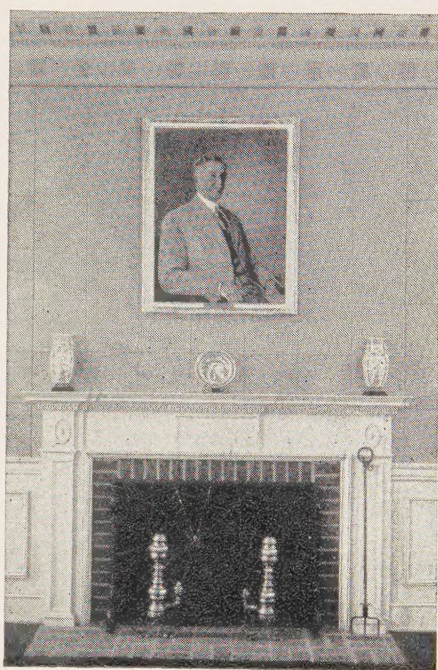




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EMOTION AS THE
BASIS OF CIVILIZATION

EMOTION
AS THE
BASIS OF CIVILIZATION

BY
J. H. DENISON

WITH A PREFATORY NOTE BY
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PREFATORY NOTE

CIVILIZATION develops only where considerable numbers of men work together for common ends. Such unity is brought about, not so much by community of bare ideas as by community of the feelings by which ideas are "emotionalized" and become beliefs and motives. The unifying, like the divisive, forces of civilization may thus be described as psychological. The history of civilizations has been written from various points of view—political, geographical and climatic, economic—but while these factors are not to be ignored or underestimated, they are conditions and circumstances, which may explain peculiarities of particular civilizations, or their rise and fall, but do not account for civilization itself.

The author distinguishes two principal types of civilization corresponding to the ways in which society is unified and the common purpose framed and effectuated, to name them as polities, "autocratic" and "democratic," or, as he prefers to define them by the nature of the emotions from which they proceed and their germs in smaller and simpler groups, "patriarchal" and "fratriarchal," respectively. But though both have their natural origin in the family, the development, by means largely ceremonial in nature, of "emotional cultures" adapted to extend and strengthen these feelings is a most important element in civilization. At all stages religion has contributed largely and effectively to this development, and the author has, therefore, described the relevant phenomena of the so-called primitive religions, with which anthropologists have recently been much occupied, and the more complex structures of the advanced religions, so that large space in the work is given to the history of religions in their relation to national and supranational civili-

zations, as unifying, segregative, divisive, and disruptive forces.

The volume might be described as an interpretation on these principles of the history of the great civilizations of the ancient and the modern world, in the course of which confirmation is found of the psychological premises laid down at the outset. The political aspects of the history receive due attention, especially in the democratic institutions of the "fratriarchal" type, with pertinent observations on our own problems and discussion of the feelings and attitudes which in a democracy must replace the fear and awe that dominated civilizations and religions of the patriarchal type.

The author has travelled widely and observed intelligently; he has read much and digested his learning; he has thought analytically and constructively. In a work of such wide scope the critical reader will often discover in particulars of fact or of interpretation occasion for doubt or dissent; but he will find the point of view original and the presentation not only instructive but stimulative of thought.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

RANDOLPH, N. H.,
September 6, 1928.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE aim of this book is not to present new historic facts or the results of a profound research into certain periods of history, but rather to indicate a new view-point from which the recognized facts of history can be studied. It seeks to discover the methods that have been used in the past to cultivate the emotions that are of value in social construction, and to stimulate the reader to consider what emotions are essential to the success of our modern democracies. The author has no desire to assert dogmatically the supreme importance of any one emotion or culture, but rather to indicate the vast influence of emotions on social organization, and the necessity of determining what emotions can be used to-day to support our democratic institutions and advance civilization; and further to suggest an inquiry as to whether the emotional cultures now in use are helpful or harmful, and as to what methods can be used to create and maintain the emotions which are found to be necessary. This involves a review of history in order to show how the civilizations of the past were made possible by certain extraordinary devices through which emotional attitudes were created which served to hold men together in large groups. The emotions controlling autocratic groups are readily discerned and easily cultivated; it is when one considers the democratic group that it becomes difficult to determine the essential emotions. Much space has therefore been given to describe the origins of the democratic group in the hope that the emotions that aided or thwarted its development may be made plain. The main thesis of the book is that every successful civilization has owed its success to an elaborate system by which certain emotions were cultivated; that it has met with disaster when its rulers have neglected or interfered with this system, and that a perfect co-ordination is necessary between the forms or government of the group

and the emotions which are developed by its religion and customs.

It is necessary to explain somewhat the terminology of the book. Certain terms are used to designate the type of emotion by which the group coheres. Thus the term "patriarchal" is not limited to describe the small tribal group under a patriarch, but is applied to all groups that are held together by the feeling of allegiance which its members have toward a common father or toward one who takes the place of such a father. The term "matriarchal" has been generally accepted to describe a state of society where individuals are held together by allegiance to a common mother, and it is retained in this book, although the author regrets the use of a hybrid word in which Greek and Latin are combined. Following this analogy, in order to describe the group which coheres without the authority of a father, through the feeling which one brother or member has for another, the author has made use of the term "fratriarchal," as less cumbersome and more easily understood than "adelpharchal" or "phratriarchal," which would be more correct forms. It differs from the term "democratic" in that the latter refers to a method of government, while "fratriarchal" describes the type of emotion essential to the group.

It should also be stated that in the discussion of religions in this book the question of their truth or falsity is not considered. Their spiritual values and power to save the individual soul do not come within the scope of this book, which is occupied merely with their value as unifying cultures and their ability to hold large groups together in unity.

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EMOTION AS THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION

PART I

THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS OF CIVILIZATION

INTRODUCTION

CIVILIZATION is one of those words which elude scientific definition, and, as every one has a very satisfactory idea of what it means to him, it would probably be unwise to attempt to define it here. It will also be unnecessary, since the present inquiry will concern itself with the dynamics rather than the nature of civilization. So many books of the day seem to suggest that our civilization is on the verge of dissolution and honeycombed with decay that it does not seem inappropriate to investigate as far as possible the dynamics of social construction. The structure of civilization is of interest, but far more interesting are the forces that make the structure possible. There was a period when we were taught that "the universe is grounded in reason and regulated by it." Some may seek to prove that civilization resembles the universe in this respect, and others may assert that it is the product of various climatic and geographic forces. It will be the aim of this book to demonstrate that civilization is grounded in emotion and regulated by it, and that the difficulties of this present age result from a failure to appreciate this fact and to cultivate the emotions which are essential to the new forms which civilization has assumed.

I. THE SENSE OF UNITY

It would seem to be evident that civilization is a result conditioned on holding large numbers of men together in unity. The temple of Karnak could not have been built by wandering Bedouins. The civilization of Rome could not

have been achieved by warring Indian tribes. For civilization involves a concentration of the resources and labor of many thousands and the employment of these resources in accordance with plans and standards evolved from the interaction of many minds. The more men who are working together in unity the greater is the civilization that is thus made possible. The most uncivilized peoples are those where every family or every village is against the next, as in New Guinea. Where savage tribes are brought together and held together in unity for some time some sort of civilization inevitably results. The problem of civilization is, therefore, that of unifying men. By force of arms men like Thothmes III or Sargon or Cæsar reduced large portions of the world to unity and produced great civilizations by pooling their resources. But the bond that holds men together must be something other than force and fear, or the civilization will break up at the first crisis, as did that of Timur or of Attila. If progress and civilization depend on unifying men it becomes of supreme importance to discover what are the causes that unite men and what holds them together in mutual co-operation.

The great trouble with our civilization is that it is continually threatened with dissolution because certain sections that have been incorporated in its unity take up the sword against their neighbors and declare their independence. This produces wars which cannot be peacefully settled because it is impossible to draw any lines which correspond to the feelings of unity which the various elements of the population have toward one another. One of the common phrases used to describe the situation is "the difficulty is psychological." This means that a section of the people do not feel at one with the rest. On the contrary, they feel distrust, hatred, and fear toward their neighbors. In that former political unity known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire the Czech distrusted the German, the German feared the Hungarian, the Hungarian despised the Serb, the Serb hated the Roumanian, and the Roumanian resented the dominance of the Hungarian and German. Consequently

at the first test the empire split into fragments whose mutual distrust is still a constant menace to the world. If these feelings could all be eliminated and they could acquire a consciousness such as we are seeking to develop in America, that though of different stock we are all one people, all the difficulty would disappear.

Having arrived at the conclusion that the difficulty is psychological—that is, that it has to do with ideas and feelings, rather than with commerce or geography or natural incompatibility—it seems rational to suppose that our great statesmen would proceed to treat it psychologically. No effort, however, seems to have been made in this direction, and the general opinion seems to be that if a division has a psychological cause it must be regarded as ultimate and final, and geographic boundaries must be adjusted to its eccentricities, or populations must be shifted until they are located in areas where they feel at one with their neighbors. Now psychological attitudes are due to certain ideas and feelings that have been cultivated in a very definite way. Psychological boundaries can be altered as readily as geographic boundaries, and probably at less expense by those who understand the means. They have their laws of development, which have been skilfully followed by the great empire-builders. We have been trained to analyze the material influences—such as war and commerce and invention—that have shaped history and civilization, and sometimes we overlook the fact that behind these and stronger than them all has been the power of ideas and feelings. It is strange that although all civilizations have been built upon the feeling of unity among men, and upon a clever use of the means for developing it, very little seems to be known about the causes and methods. History has been written from the political and economic view-point, and the development of each institution has been carefully traced, but no history has yet been written from the point of view of feeling, to trace the origin and development of those great emotions that fuse tribes into a nation and nations into a civilization.

2. THE PRIMAL CELL OF CIVILIZATION

When statesmen inform us that the difficulty in Central Europe to-day is psychological, what is really meant is that, as suggested above, the social or national units that have been constituted are artificial, and not real or inherent unities. In other words, the people gathered in a given group do not *feel* that they are one people—there is no sense of unity between them. It is perfectly possible to gather a number of human beings together and hold them together by force or by some artificial system without any reference to their feelings. This is usually done by conquest, and we call it enslavement. Such a unity is of little value to civilization, for as soon as the controlling force is removed it will split into fragments. It has no inner coherence and is, therefore, not a real unity. It differs from the real unity as a mass of pebbles in a bucket differs from the apples on a tree. It is an outside force that holds the pebbles together, whereas the apples on the tree are structurally united. A mass of magnetized bits of iron has inner coherence, and the bits hang together because of something within them.

It is important, then, to discover what is this sense of unity, this feeling of oneness, that holds thousands of men together and enables them to build up a civilization by their united efforts. So far as we know, this feeling had its origin in the family. Certainly it is here, even among beasts, that we see individuals working and fighting, not each for himself but for the group, with all the members of which each feels at one, while toward all outsiders there is a feeling of antagonism, or suspicion, or enmity. Whether the feeling of unity developed from a perception of the fact that they were all born of the same parents and were all of one blood, or whether it came from the necessity of a common defense and a common food supply, is immaterial. The important thing is that this feeling, however it originated, is the primal cell from which have been built all our social organizations, governments, nations, and civilizations.

This seems perhaps a daring hypothesis, but as we trace

the gradual development of the social order it seems warranted. The unity of the family when we first observe it in history after the period of the matriarchate seems to have centred in the father. He directed its plans, made its rules, and punished its offenders. As the family increased and included three or four generations the father became its patriarchal head, and, in so far as he succeeded in developing in his children a sense of reverence because of his age and superior wisdom, he ruled over them with a more or less despotic power. Certain historians have described this period as the rule of the "Old Man." When such a patriarch died there was danger that the tribe would split up, as occurred in the case of Isaac, when Esau became the founder of the Edomites and Jacob of the Israelites. In the case of some tribes, therefore, it was assumed that the Old Man, the founder of the tribe, still existed in the spirit land, and still demanded their offerings of food as of yore, and still visited with dire punishment any one who ventured to disobey the laws he had made. Their unity in their founder was kept constantly before them through this ancestor worship. All over the world, in Asia, in Africa, in the South Seas, and in primitive Europe, we find traces of this ancestor worship; and even in America the Navajo Indians still assemble to worship at the ruins of the White House in the De Chelly Canyon, where they suppose their first ancestor to have lived. Among certain groups the totem takes the place of a human ancestor, and tribes among our Indians or in the South Seas are found who claim descent from the tortoise or wolf or bear, and their ancestor is worshipped in the form of this animal. The totem has been explained in many ways, but whatever its origin it served, like ancestor worship, to hold the tribe together long after the death of the original chief or patriarch whose authority first bound them in union. Both the ancestor worship and the totem ceremonial dramatized the fact that their common ancestor still lived, and it caused them to feel that they were still united in subjection to his authority.

The first essential of civilization was to devise some means

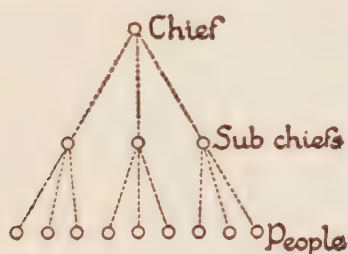
of perpetuating the feeling of unity which held the primitive family together in obedience to the father long after that father was dead and when his descendants had come to number many thousands. It will be found that wherever a great civilization sprang up it was made possible by an elaborate emotional culture so designed as to make large numbers of people feel that they were united in one family, and to create in them a feeling of reverence for their common ruler. This was usually done by dramatizing in some way their common origin, and by presenting to them their common ancestor as a spirit or god in such a way that they would still feel reverence for him. The essential element in civilization is then a feeling of unity strong enough to hold large numbers together in such a fashion that, instead of fighting and destroying each other, they will work together constructively. This feeling of unity must of course have its basis in some idea such as that of a common ancestry. We shall endeavor to show how emotional cultures were built up which were powerful enough to hold together not only the individuals of one tribe, but many millions belonging to tribes not originally connected, until they became a united nation.

3. THE TWO TYPES OF UNIFICATION. THE "FATHER IDEA" AND THE "BROTHER IDEA"

It has been suggested that the feeling of unity which holds men together in tribes or nations was an elaboration of the feelings developed in the primitive family. As we examine the various groups of mankind it is evident that the feelings which unite them and the forms of government which hold them together differ very materially. We may, however, divide them all into two classes, those which are united by feelings associated with the "Father idea," and those where the feeling of Brotherhood predominates. Both these types of feeling exist, of course, in the family, but a group which is held together by the feeling that all are subject to a common father develops on quite different lines

from one where the emphasis is on the brotherly relation and where there is no sense of parental compulsion.

An example of the first type of unity is that enforced by Henry VIII, who put to death any one who disagreed with him. The second type we see in a group of boys at play who make their own rules. At the basis of every government in the world to-day we shall find one of these two ideas, and upon the emotional culture associated with it the whole system of unity rests. The "Father idea" and the "Brother idea" are fundamentally different in principle and application and according as a group chooses one or the other its national



Patriarchal-Vertical.



Fratriarchal-Horizontal.

development is determined. In the chapters that follow, those social groups whose unity is based on feelings derived from the "Father idea" are termed "patriarchal," and those which are based on the "Brother idea" will be designated as "fratriarchal."

These two types differ not only in form but in essence. In one, individuals are bound together by their relation to the father. Even if they have no sense of unity with one another, they remain together because each feels his unity with a common ancestor. They hang upon him, as many separate weights may hang from one hook, or as bits of iron adhere to a magnet. In the fratriarchal type, the authority of the father is disregarded and the members hang together because of a sense of union with one another, as bits of iron once magnetized hold together without any other compelling force. In large groups of the patriarchal type where men are held together by the feeling which each has for the official

above him, while nothing holds them to the masses at their side, we may term the cohesive force "vertical." In a democracy or brotherhood where each man is bound to his fellow the unifying emotion is "horizontal" in action.

It is evident that the whole organization of these two types of groups, as well as the emotions that unite them, must be entirely different in character, and most of the troubles which we meet in our democracies to-day come from a failure to appreciate this fact and a consequent attempt to apply old emotional systems that only work disaster.

4. THE TRIPLE BASIS OF THE GROUP

Since the beginning of history men have grouped themselves in a vast variety of different ways, and if we are to study the emotions that unite them, we must distinguish the different types of groups and the causes that hold them together. We have already seen that they fall naturally into two classes, which we have termed the patriarchal and the fratriarchal. Every group, regardless of its class, must have a basis of union, and it is this basis that determines what emotions must be used as a cohesive force. In the family group the basis of unity is blood-relationship, and in all primitive social groups the sense of unity was cultivated by means of various ceremonies which created in the people a consciousness of their relationship to a common father. The primitive group then was limited in its membership to those of one blood. It is quite possible, however, to form groups whose membership has a different basis, but it is then necessary to adopt an entirely different form of emotional culture.

The character of a group is determined not only by the basis of membership but by the *purpose* for which it exists. It may be formed for mutual protection or for plunder. It may have a commercial or religious basis.

There is a third factor which is of equal importance in determining the character of a group. This is to be found in the laws or rules that it makes and the standards it enforces.

In classifying a group, then, we must consider these three

elements, for it is only when we have determined the three-fold basis of the group that we can understand what emotions are essential to its existence. When we have discovered of whom a group must consist, for what purpose it exists, and by what laws it is governed, and have thus determined its basis, we can then study the *forms* which it has adopted to express this threefold basis. We shall find that each well-developed group tends to form a triplex organization, the three members of which serve to express the three elements in the basis. As just stated, the first basic element is the idea on which the sense of unity is based, or the basis of membership, and the first form in the group organization exists to create and maintain the sense of unity and the emotions of reverence or public spirit upon which its coherence depends. This involves an emotional culture which will dramatize in some way the basis of membership. This is usually accomplished by a religious organization of some kind. To correspond with the second element in the basis, the group must have some organization that will enable it to form a purpose and carry it out, and to develop the unifying and intensifying emotions that are essential if men are to hold together in any joint endeavor. In the third place, it must have some organization to enforce its rules and to expel those who are harmful to its union. This involves a means to develop emotions that will make men obedient to law and that will drive out unamalgamable elements.

In primitive tribes these three systems are very simple and undifferentiated. But in the great nations they become very elaborate and complex. The system that develops the sense of unity we know as the state religion. That which forms the group purposes and carries them out is termed the legislative department. The executive department should be combined with this, for these two really form one system. The form of organization which enforces the laws or standard of the group and excludes undesirable elements is called the judicial department. The first and third systems which pertain to the membership and laws of the group serve to keep it united by preserving a definite structure. The second

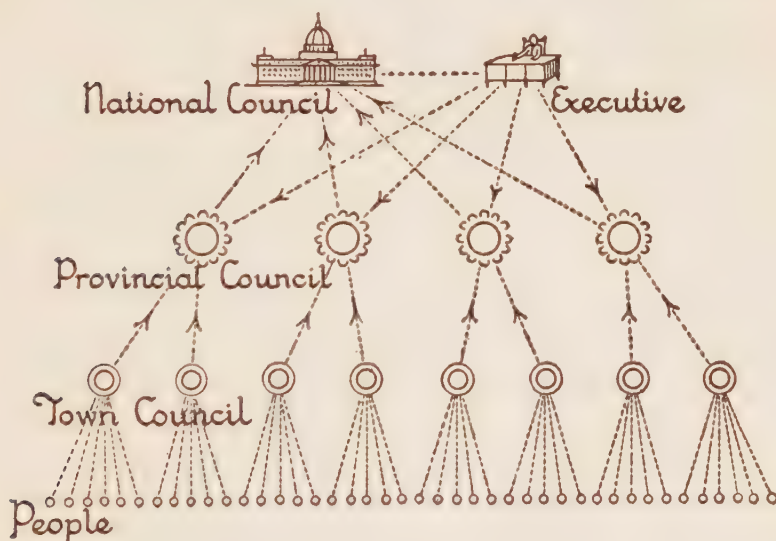
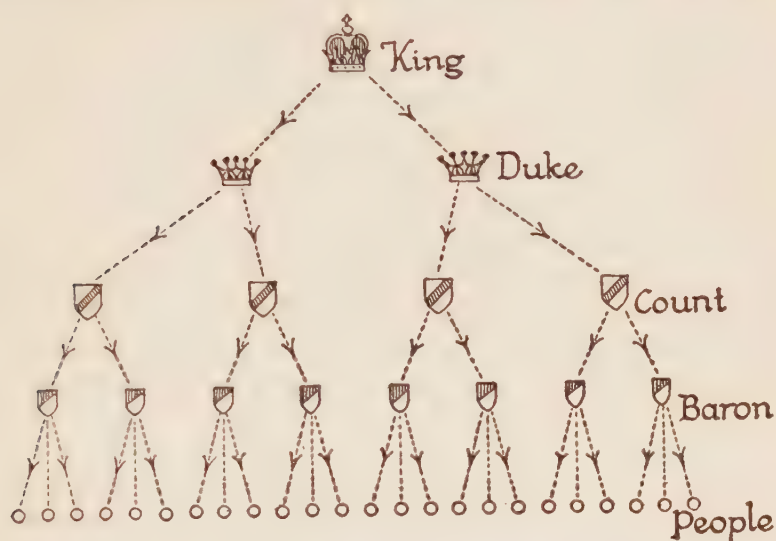
section, which has to do with its purposes, must keep it united when it meets new emergencies. This follows quite closely the analogy of the human body, whose unity depends on three similar systems: the circulatory, the nervous, and the excretory. The circulatory system carries the materials needed for the chemical processes by which the structure is built up, just as the religious or educational system of a state gives it the facts essential to its union. The nervous system makes it possible to frame a purpose and carry it into action, and thus resembles the legislative and executive functions of the state. The excretory system disposes of foreign or harmful substances which impede or threaten the unity, and, therefore, has a function similar to the judicial system of the state. We may outline the determining factors of social groups as follows:

A. Basis:	1. Basis of Membership	2. Basic Purpose	3. Basic Laws
B. Organization:	1. Religious (Circulatory)	2. Legislative (Nervous)	3. Judicial (Excretory)
C. Essential Emotions:	1. Sense of Unity Public Spirit	2. Reverence, Enthusiasm, etc.	3. Reverence, Shame, etc.

An infinite variety of systems may be produced by the modification of these various elements. A difference or change in basis must express itself in the organization and in the associated emotions.

The form or organization must express the idea on which the unity is based, and it must afford the means by which the purpose may be chosen or expressed and the laws enforced. This form may be a government, political or religious, or any form of group organization. Forms of the patriarchal type are much easier to arrange than the fraternal. As the patriarchal unity depends entirely upon the father or king, who forms the purpose and makes the laws, the three systems of the body may here be fused in one, since it is necessary only to have an organization which will convey the will of the head to each subject. The patriarchal unity, then, needs merely an efferent nervous system to

carry the impulse of the head to all the limbs. Provided this is achieved, such a unity may take form as an empire, a hier-



archy, a feudal system, a military despotism, or a theocracy. The fratriarchal form, on the other hand, is so complex that it was long before it could be worked out for any nation

involving diversified groups. To express rightly the brother idea, there must be no permanent head. Moreover, in this type of unity the purpose originates with the individual. Its impulse must be conveyed to a common centre and there fused with, or modified by, impulses coming from all other individuals, and then reconveyed to the individuals in the form of a common purpose. Thus it resembles the human body in requiring an afferent nervous system to carry feelings from the limbs to the head, a co-ordinating centre, where these impulses are modified, and an efferent system to carry the resultant purpose back to the limbs. In enforcing law the form may be different also from the patriarchal. This difference in the manner of carrying out a purpose may be seen in the diagrams on the preceding page, which present a mature form of each system, both of them the result of a long period of development.

The complexity of the fratriarchal form is one reason why all the first great civilizations were patriarchal in form. Though many early tribes made use of the brother idea, they were unable to adapt it to increasing numbers.

Even if the group has a suitable basis, and is well organized, it will fail to cohere and function properly unless the proper emotions are developed in connection with each department. It is therefore necessary that each group should have the means to produce and maintain the emotions that are essential to its existence and successful operation. No matter how adequate the reason that unites the group, it will fail to hold the members together unless it is emotionalized in some way. Before continuing the analysis of the group, it will be well to consider what agencies can be used as emotional cultures and the reason that they are essential to every social unit.

5. THE VALUE OF RELIGION IN CIVILIZATION

It has been stated that the basis of unity for every group must be certain facts or a certain idea; as, for example, that they are all children of one ancestor. This idea, however, must be so presented that it has an emotional content. Every

idea to be effective must have an emotional fringe of some kind. To be of practical value a thought must be transformed into a motive which will produce either action or a permanent attitude. This cannot be done without so presenting the thought that it carries with it a sense of reality, or a feeling that it is true. When this is accomplished the thought becomes a belief. Strange to say, a logical demonstration of the truth of a statement may not transform it into a belief, while an emotional dramatization of a statement that is not true may create such a sense of its reality in the minds of the people that no logical proof will convince them of its falsity. When there is given to a thought an emotional fringe which creates a sense of reality, and it thus becomes a belief, it at once begins to operate on social relations, and produces attitudes. The attitude, in turn, to become significant and potent, must be given *its* appropriate emotional fringe. It then becomes material out of which civilization can be built. To illustrate: the fact that the members of a group are all descended from one ancestor is of no value until some form of emotional culture has made all the group *feel the reality* of their common descent. One may tell two men that they are brothers, but unless each man feels that the other is his brother, the fact will not vitally influence his behavior. To develop a feeling, an entirely different method must be employed from that which is used in teaching a thought. A feeling is usually implanted by some symbolic expression of emotion—an embrace or a gesture, or by some ceremonial accompanied perhaps by music. A dramatic representation will convey a feeling more adequately than a logical proof. When by some such method all the members of a group are made to *feel* their mutual relationship, they thus acquire a *sense of unity*. Even if the fact is not true, and they are not really descended from the same father, the sense of unity may be produced by the right culture. This sense of unity produces a certain attitude; the usual patriarchal culture, for example, should produce the attitude of children toward an ancestral god. To make that attitude of value, it must, in turn, be reinforced by some

powerful emotion such as reverence. A culture of reverence for the common ancestor is therefore necessary to maintain the attitude, and so long as this culture is effective the group will act as a unit.

The chief emotional culture which a group uses to develop and maintain its sense of unity is ordinarily called its religion. The god of a tribe is nearly always its deified ancestor, and a culture in which he is worshipped is the chief means of maintaining the sense of tribal unity. Certain religions may have originated as an effort to propitiate the forces of nature which were personified: as Indra, the storm-god, or Agni, the fire-god, in India; and Ra, the sun-god, in Egypt, or To Kaia, the volcano-god, in New Guinea. But in many of these cases the nature-god was originally an ancestral god. The father of the tribe, after death, was supposed to acquire power over nature, and for this or some other reason was gradually identified with one or more of its forces. Ra, the sun-god, was also an ancestral god, and was recognized as the father of all. The father idea is associated with the leading god of nearly every race. In nearly all cases where a great civilization has been built up, it has been because a religion of this kind was developed which acted as a unifying emotional culture. In early days the chief function of religion was exactly this. It was the emotional culture by which the government maintained its authority and the sense of unity among the people. In the first place, it dramatized the facts on which the unity of the group was based in such a way that the people felt that these facts were true. In other words, religion presented their common ancestor to them in so vivid a way that he seemed real and they believed in him and brought him offerings, as if he were still present. Their belief tended to produce the attitude of obedient children. Here came in the second function of religion, to cultivate an emotion that would make that attitude permanent and effective. Every patriarchal religion centred in cultivating the feeling of reverence and awe for the god and his representatives, and therefore resulted in making the people obedient to the government. Also in the

fratriarchal group it was through religion that the idea that united them was presented in such dramatic forms as the blood-brotherhood, and it was by religion they sought to cultivate some unifying emotion, such as fraternal love. In creating civilization the most important function of religion was, therefore, this culture of beliefs and emotions that unify.

We have noted that the first function of religion in creating civilization was to cultivate that emotional fringe, or sense of reality in connection with an idea, which transforms a mere thought into a belief, and that its second function was to cultivate certain unifying and divisive emotions in a manner advantageous to the group. It is necessary to consider briefly what the emotions are and how they operate. It will then be possible to take up the various civilizations and see how the feelings of men were manipulated by the great empire-builders to produce the result they desired.

6. THE FORCES AVAILABLE IN SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

If we are to comprehend the means by which civilization has been created, we must note what the forces are that determine the actions and attitudes of men. The driving power behind every act is, of course, emotion of some kind. If we try to reduce our feelings to simplest terms without attempting to go into the exhaustive analysis of the psychologist, we shall probably discover that our action is determined by a system of auxiliary drives, each with its reverse. The simplest we commonly call hunger or desire, which urges us forward to some object or act. It has its reverse, which we term disgust or dislike, which repels us with equal force.

If in our pursuit of any object under the impetus of the forward drive we meet with difficulty or opposition, an auxiliary force comes into action which we call rage, when we see it in full force. When the difficulty is general and impersonal, we call the feeling which enables us to surmount it enthusiasm, which is really a modification of rage. This adds tenfold to the power of the drive. If, however, the obstacle seems so great that it threatens us with danger, this aux-

iliary goes into reverse action and becomes what we call fear. It then impels us as violently to retreat from the act contemplated as we were urged forward by rage.

In addition, there is a forward drive which depends upon social life. This we might call desire of approval or of admiration. This also has its reverse, which checks or prevents action, and which we call shame, or fear of public opinion.

Finally, there is the direct feeling of unity which we term love. This has the effect of linking the personality of one individual with another so closely that his desires and feelings operate for that other in the same way as for himself. What he desires for himself he desires for that other; when the other is injured he is hurt; when the other succeeds he is pleased. It is, therefore, an emotion which integrates individuals into a sort of composite personality. This feeling, probably originating in the sense of family unity, has been expanded to include larger and larger groups. In the higher and more intense form known as friendship, it is selective and creates a unity of great power, but it has lower forms which are more general and which we term sympathy, social consciousness, and humanitarian feeling. This emotion also has its reverse, a sense of disunion or hostility which we term hate, which is felt toward any one who is outside the group, and who is therefore suspected of hostile intent. This feeling of disunion is closely linked with the secondary drive of which mention has been made, so that a sense of disunion or hostility is almost certain to awaken either rage or fear, according to the power displayed by the supposed enemy. On the other hand, if one who is linked to the group is opposed in his desires, and his rage is aroused, it is likely at once to transform the sense of unity into one of antagonism, and thus to issue in hatred between the man and those who oppose him. If the man is opposed without awakening rage or anger, friendship or love may remain unbroken. Two or more of these drives may operate at once. We may regard horror as a combination of fear and disgust. Reverence results from combining fear and love.

It is now possible to understand the way in which the

patriarchal system preserved unity. It started with the feeling of unity which existed in the family. As we observe family life we see that there are forces present which constantly operate to break up the feeling of unity and to produce division. An individual desires something; this hunger drives him to take something desired or owned by another; opposition arouses rage or anger, and that in turn awakens hate, or the sense of disunion, and at once the unity is broken and division begins. In the family this disunion is checked by the authority of the father. This exists in so far as the members have a sense of unity with him and a feeling of reverence for him. The important element is that this feeling can be made to hold so that they still feel united to the father when their love for one another fails.

This feeling for the father makes possible two things: first, common action by the family in obedience to his command; and, second, by means of it he can prevent division resulting from the selfish desires of an individual. If one person abuses the relationship of love to gain more than his share of the family resources, or takes from another the product of his labor, or injures him in any way, division is likely to result unless some adjustment is made. As this adjustment, which we call justice, is likely to prove unsatisfactory to one or the other and possibly to both, it can only be maintained by the feeling of reverence which they have for their father. He must make rules in accordance with this adjustment, to regulate the family conduct where love fails or is abused, and he must enforce these rules by punishment if they are disobeyed. If they reverence the father sufficiently, his rules will be kept.

This is, of course, the basis of all law. Laws are rules and adjustments made necessary when love or the sense of unity fails or is abused. Laws are observed when there is maintained a strong feeling of reverence for the maker of the law. When the law is broken the penalty must be enforced or this sense of reverence is lost and division ensues. When laws are persistently broken it indicates that the feeling of reverence is not strong enough and that the punish-

ment must be sufficiently severe to awaken fear, to supplement and reinforce the reverence. This is the main element in what we call administering justice. Many reasons are now assigned for punishing criminals, but the one fundamental reason is this of creating an emotional culture of fear and reverence, which will preserve the laws which are necessary to keep the social order from splitting up.

What we term the patriarchal system is simply an expansion of the family relationship in which the father has become the god, and the king is his representative. Solidarity is preserved by laws which are maintained by cultivating a sense of unity with the ruler, and of reverence and fear toward him. If the ruler has a real sense of unity with his subjects, his laws will be an expression of justice and will be made for their good. If he has no such feeling, he will use the emotion of fear and awe that has been cultivated, to enforce laws that are made to rob and enslave the people for his benefit. There are those that hold unity to be so important that it is worth preserving even at this cost, rather than to wreck civilization by revolutions and divisions, and thus reduce it to a chaos.

CHAPTER II

UNIFYING EMOTIONAL CULTURES

I. CUSTOMS

WE have endeavored to show that the most important cohesive force in society is a feeling which we term the sense of unity and that the chief forces that hold men in groups are emotional. We have considered the various emotions that are available and the way in which they can be used in social construction. An emotion is, however, a transitory thing by nature, and where society depends on the permanent action of any one emotion it is necessary to create a background which will act as a continual stimulus to that feeling or to provide some sort of a dynamo to recharge men's minds when the emotional current is exhausted. Such a background we will term an emotional culture. In past times the forms and ceremonials of religion have been the most effective culture of this type, although by no means the only one. Each group consciously or unconsciously creates a background of its own which we call custom, and this background of custom, while not ordinarily directed purposefully to create and maintain emotion, as in the case of religion, nevertheless becomes in varying degree an emotional culture and an aid in unifying the group. It is impossible to do more than glance at a field so vast as that afforded by the customs or folkways of mankind, and we can merely indicate the ways in which they develop and aid the sense of unity.

We might divide customs according to their function into five parts:

1. Costumes, which are of value in tribal recognition and group discrimination.
2. Language and manners, which have to do with inter-communication and mutual understanding.
3. Methods of work, which make co-operation possible.

4. Laws, which exclude unamalgamable elements and prevent division of feeling and action.
5. Rites and ceremonies, which are definitely designed to cultivate certain emotions.

2. COSTUMES

It is noticeable that nearly every primitive tribe has some customary apparel which distinguishes it from surrounding tribes, just as each species of animals has certain markings, such as the white tail by which deer recognize one another even at a great distance. Whatever the mark may be, it acquires an emotional significance; those who bear it awaken a feeling of sympathy or safety and a sense of unity of some kind, while those who are not so marked arouse feelings of suspicion, fear, or antagonism. Men have showed amazing inventive genius in respect to these tribal indications. The hair of the Fijian or New Guinea native trimmed like a box hedge, the pigtail of the Chinaman, the feathers of the Indian, the comb of the Cingalese, are familiar illustrations of such recognition-marks in the fashions of wearing the hair. The body itself is often marked or modified, as in the case of the flattened head of certain Indian tribes, the elongated head of the Mangbettu, the compressed feet of Chinese women, the ear-lobes of New Guineans, expanded to six inches circumference and stuffed with all manner of curios, the distended lower lips of certain African tribes, the welts branded on Solomon Islanders or the tattooing of the Maoris. Those not bearing such a tribal mark are regarded by the tribe as ugly and repulsive.

When a blanket or cloth is worn, the method of folding it becomes a tribal mark. Navajo Indians, when shown pictures of a Tibetan tribe, insisted that the men portrayed were Navajos because they wore their blankets in the same folds. As clothing developed, each tribe acquired an elaborate dress of its own, as each Scotch clan had its plaid. Such costumes have been longer preserved among women than among men and until recently each canton of Switzerland, each town of Russia, each part of Brittany or of the Balkans

had its own brilliant local dress. The wearing of the tribal costume was emotionally enforced. A man not dressed like his tribesmen was ashamed to appear and was regarded with contempt and suspicion. Those well accoutred were admired and praised. Custom is stronger than law because it is thus enforced by emotion, and even where forbidden by law such costumes have long persisted. A man would not be recognized as one of the tribe if he forsook the costume. A chief of the Fijians who had been educated in England was recently invited to dine on board a yacht that visited the islands. He came in full dress as far as his waist, with dress coat and white shirt. Below he wore only the lava lava over his bare legs. He explained that if he did not wear the lava lava his men would no more recognize him as chief.

Dress has been used to mark divisions as well as to unite men. In Moslem nations Christians or Jews were once compelled to wear a special color such as yellow, and were thus subjected to contumely whenever they went forth. To-day there is an attempt to use fashions in dress to create an exclusive group, who by virtue of wearing the "latest thing" seek to keep themselves apart from the common herd. Boys and young men are as sensitive as women about being habited as the rest of their crowd or "gang" in school or college, and are made to suffer for any marked divergence.

There can be little doubt that such group costumes form an emotional culture which strengthens the sense of unity and that a tribesman of a costumed group feels "at home" only when surrounded by men who are thus habited.

3. LANGUAGE

Among savage races such as those of New Guinea each little clan speaks a different dialect, and this difference in speech is a more effective means of group segregation than dress or ornament. It has also a powerful emotional effect, and savages fear, and will ordinarily attack, those who speak another tongue. In New Britain, an island, about 150 miles long, off the coast of New Guinea, there were said to be seventy different languages. Since each community spoke a

different language, it remained in an attitude of suspicion and enmity toward all the rest, and there were continual raids and wars until foreign governments interfered. There was a similar situation among the tribes of North American Indians. To speak a man's language as a native is to make him feel that you are one with him unless there is some other intervening barrier. There is a powerful emotional effect in a man's native tongue. The writer has met savage cannibals who were threatening and disposed to attack, but who became genial and hospitable when addressed in their own language and who then even offered to share their food. One reason why it has been so difficult to unify India and China is on account of the multiplicity of languages and dialects. It is very difficult for two groups to feel as one when they speak different tongues. The Latin language did perhaps as much to unify the world of the first century as did the Roman law and religion. Many natives, realizing the emotional effect of language, have sought to compel conquered groups to renounce their mother tongue, as the Russians did with the Finns, and Austria has done with some of her subordinate races. Jugo-Slavia is a nation constituted mainly by the sense of unity created in the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes as a result of speaking a similar tongue. A sense of unity can be created in spite of differences in language, as in the case of Switzerland, or in France with its Bretons, Basques, and Provençals, but in such cases there is always an emotional barrier to be overcome. Suspicion, fear, and dislike are usually felt toward those who speak another tongue, just as speech in one's native tongue awakens sympathy and a sense of mutual understanding. People of similar languages tend to group together. We find a Pan-Touranian movement in Central Asia, and a tendency in Hungarians to regard "Aryans" with suspicion.

4. MANNERS

If speech is a symbolism to express thought, manners are a more elaborate symbolism designed by the civilized races to express certain emotional attitudes. Ordinarily, they ex-

press reverence or respect, one of the most important emotions in group unity, but they also convey sympathy, friendship, joy, and sorrow. Sometimes they have intrinsic value, as a hand-clasp, or a smile, or the offering of a seat, but ordinarily they are purely symbolic. Reverence in the Orient is indicated by keeping the head covered and taking off the shoes; in the Occident such behavior would be regarded as insulting, and the hat is removed as a sign of reverence. The Chinese are more punctilious than we in manners, but the symbolism seems to be reversed in significance. The guest of honor is seated on the left. In Burmah it is a sign of respect to sit down in presence of a dignitary, while we stand up to express reverence.

In a civilized race manners have grown to such a complex symbolism that every shade of respect and disrespect, of liking or dislike, can be expressed through them more subtly than by words. All human relations and acts, from rising in the morning to retiring at night, eating and drinking, writing and talking, walking, sitting down, and dancing, have become a sort of ritual which has beauty and dignity, but whose chief value is its power to express delicate shades of emotion in forms that charm. There has come to be a right or accepted way of doing everything, and a person who does not understand the ritual is as much outside the pale as if he spoke a different language. In Japan a rude person is termed "a person who does what is not expected," and feeling was at one time so strong that the penalty for such rudeness or "unexpectedness" was death. The unexpected man had put himself outside the pale. It is discourteous to treat a man otherwise than as he has a right to expect you to treat him. We are less severe than the Japanese, and in most communities the penalty for bad manners is merely ostracism. Manners are therefore a potent emotional culture, a web of actions which express and stimulate those emotions which bind society together and create civilization. They are a vast symbolism by means of which the members of a group understand one another and are kept in sympathetic relations. Even crime, injustice, or cruelty is hardly

as fatal to the unity of a home or club or any intimate group as are bad manners on the part of one or more members, for they bring that feeling of strangeness and lack of understanding that makes sympathetic relations more impossible than does the cruel act of some one whom the group understands. Manners are enforced by powerful emotions, and a man who fails to conform is made to feel a shame which almost amounts to remorse.

5. METHODS

Methods of work, when they exist as group customs, have perhaps more utilitarian than emotional significance. They further co-operation and form a body of traditions handed on from father to son. Certain races, however, as the Japanese, have made of them a ritual and given them emotional significance. A man must plough or thatch his house or wield an axe or draw his fish-nets or carry a sword in a certain time-honored way or he becomes an outcast. Lafcadio Hearn states that when the boats of a fishing community in Japan were destroyed in the tidal wave of 1896, and benevolent persons sent new boats and nets, the fishers were unable to use them because the new skiffs differed in pattern from those which custom allowed. Most old-time farmers show a little of this feeling toward "new-fangled notions" that interfere with old customs. Such feelings undoubtedly interfere with progress. Their value lay in the feeling of solidarity they created in the workers of a group, and in this age they seem hardly necessary.

6. LAWS

Those customs which can be classed under the term "laws" will be treated more fully in other chapters. They apparently began with the taboos put upon things considered dangerous or unclean or sacred. At first they were probably self-enforcing, as they still are, in parts of New Guinea, where the native who breaks the taboo dies of fright. Fear of destruction by the forces of evil keeps the people obedient at first. Later taboos were enforced by the death pen-

alty or by expulsion from the tribe. Shame and fear of being regarded as unclean compelled obedience at this stage. Finally, definite rules were made and penalties affixed. But even here the emotions that controlled were rather shame and fear of evil spirits than dread of the penalty. These taboos or laws defined the limits of the tribe. Any one who kept them remained a member; any one who broke them ceased to be a tribesman. They prevented a man from injuring his neighbor or from any act that would break up the tribal unity. They were the safeguards of unity within, and they created a firm barrier against outsiders who did not observe the tribal customs. They formed an emotional wall about the tribe, like a wire fence charged with electricity, which held the tribe together and electrocuted transgressors from within or interlopers from without. The most powerful emotions of the human soul were stimulated and raised to their maximum by this type of custom, which is recognized as one of the most important elements in civilization.

7. RITES AND CEREMONIES

The tremendous emotional effect of laws upon the people is partly due to their association with customs of the fifth type, that is, religious rites and ceremonies. Laws are not designed to arouse emotion, but unless they do so they are not obeyed. Religious rites are the only class of customs whose purpose is to develop, maintain, and express certain emotions. In many cases such ceremonies have been elaborated by the priestly class to produce the emotions which they considered essential. Rites are manners raised to a higher power. They are the manners to be observed in the presence of kings and gods, in the great events of life, such as birth, marriage, and death, or on important and critical occasions, such as the springtime or harvest, or time of war. They give dignity and validity to the laws and agreements that hold society together, and they keep alive the feeling of reverence for rulers and gods, and are the chief agent in developing the sense of unity in every tribe.

Civilization has depended in large measure upon these rites, which have acted as emotional cultures to keep alive the emotions essential to society. The amazing way in which these rites have been elaborated, the complexity of the symbolism, and the vast emotional effect produced cannot fail to astonish any one who studies them. Every device and every form of art known to man was used to make them effective. In fact, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature all gained their first great development as adjuncts in such emotional cultures. The stupendous temples of Egypt, with their gigantic pylons and dusky-columned courts and hidden shrines, were built to create the feeling of reverence for the gods. The best art of the sculptor and painter was used to portray the gods to the people, and music and literature gave a permanent expression to the feelings of reverence and devotion aroused through the religious drama. In the account of the plan of the tabernacle, in the latter part of the *Book of Exodus*, we find the most elaborate symbolism worked out in minute detail in its successive courts, its altar and laver, its veil and table of bread and candlestick, its holy of holies and ark and mercy-seat, where every object forms a background for emotion. In all the ritual of sacrifice in *Leviticus*, in the laying of the transgressor's hand on the head of the lamb without blemish, in the offering by fire, in the rising of the smoke, in the sharing of the sacrificial meal, and in all the varying methods of the ceremonial, we find a means for the cultivation and expression of those emotions that were essential to the unity of the community.

The emotional culture of the Christian Church is even more elaborate and significant. In the great cathedrals every detail, from the cruciform shape of the whole edifice with its altar in the East down to the mosaic and sculpture of every column and the aureoled saints in every jewelled window, tells a story calculated to stir the feelings of the worshipper. Every detail of the ceremonial has its poignant significance—the crucifix and chalice and pyx, the candles and bells, the music and solemn chants, the vestments and

their color, the pastoral staff, and every movement and gesture of the celebrant. All these are designed to awaken and keep alive the emotions that cluster about the life and death of Christ. The Christian calendar, from the Christmas drama of the birth of Christ to the Passion of Good Friday and the Resurrection of Easter, is designed to conduct the worshipper, step by step, through all the events of the life of Jesus until his heart is stirred by the supreme drama of sacrifice.

All through the ages of the past men have realized the importance of these emotional cultures to society. Every family had its altar, every group its solemn ritual. This age has grown so careless of them as to think them superfluous. Russia even sought to do away with them altogether, and then found it necessary to reconstruct them in new forms, in such ceremonials as those of state baptism. Emotions are not permanent save as they are definitely cultivated. No unity, not even that of the family, can stand without its emotional culture, for the emotion that originated it dissipates and it crumbles to fragments.

In the pages that follow, it will be our effort to study the emotional cultures by which nations and civilizations have been created, and the causes that produced their fall, and to seek to determine what new emotions and cultures are needed to preserve the social order of our own day.

CHAPTER III

EXCLUSIVE EMOTIONAL CULTURES

I. THE ORIGIN OF PREJUDICE

THE unity of a group is secured not only by emotions that hold it together but by the feelings that repel or exclude outsiders. The welfare of the group depends in large measure upon its ability to exclude harmful or alien elements. If a herd of deer is so democratic as to admit wolves to its membership, it will probably suffer for its lack of discrimination. The herd might even suffer seriously from admitting a number of animals as well intentioned as the cow, who, by their unwieldy bulk and slow speed, might betray the herd to disaster. Animals and primitive men are protected against such dangers by the negative or repellent emotions. It has already been shown that, like electricity, each emotion has its positive and negative forms. Corresponding to the positive hunger is the negative disgust; opposed to rage is fear, as hate or dislike is opposed to love, and shame to desire of approval. In order to secure safety for the primitive man these negative emotions—disgust, fear, and dislike—are directed toward nearly everything that is strange. Such an emotional barrier, erected without the aid of intelligence, we term prejudice. Even today we find people deterred by a barrier of disgust from eating snails or sea-worms or lizards, although they know that many thousands feed upon these things and find them good, and others are afraid of mice and harmless snakes and spiders. This emotional barrier can be most helpful or most harmful, according to its use.

Nearly every group seems to have taken these emotions and developed them into a culture to exclude elements which it has felt to be undesirable or unamalgamable.

2. THE MANA AND MIASMA. SPIRIT CONTAGION

There seems to be one primitive method which was practically universal and from which all our exclusive groups and probably all our laws developed. It has its basis of facts or ideas, its forms and, of course, its emotions, as have all types of group unity. The idea on which it is based is that all nature is filled with mysterious force which inhabits certain persons and things to a marked degree. All such things the Romans called *sacra*. There grew to be a distinction between the force which gave strength and success and fertility, which certain races called *mana*, and the force which was destructive to health, life, and prosperity, which the Greeks sometimes called *miasma*. This was a subtle force that radiated from certain objects and persons, bringing disease, death, bad luck, drought, and disaster to all whom it touched. It was against all such things that the emotional barrier was erected. It excluded nearly all people and things that were strange. In addition, it was directed against all things and people associated with death, such as the corpses of men and animals, and blood. So powerful was this culture that even after all these centuries of supposed enlightenment there are people who faint at the sight of blood, and who fear to touch a dead body. Each group also regarded certain objects as peculiarly miasmatic. The orthodox Mohammedan feels in this way about pork and pig-skin, and the Jew has the same aversion toward any combination of meat and milk. It was considered that any one who had been exposed to miasma brought the evil contagion into the group, which would soon feel its effects in terms of disease, failure of crops, or defeat in battle. This, bad as it seems, was only half the difficulty. The mana, or beneficent force, which was often supposed to reside in the tribal ancestor or god, held the miasma in abhorrence, and instead of helping the people when thus infected, would smite with death any contaminated person who entered its presence.

It was from these facts or ideas that the whole elaborate exclusive culture was constructed. The emotion em-

ployed to this end was the combination of the two primitive repellent feelings of disgust and fear, which we call horror. It was developed and maintained through a system of symbolism in which this unseen effluvium was treated as though it were visible and loathsome filth. A symbolism of protection was built up against such miasmatic influences. Some tribes daub themselves with clay of a certain color; others make a gesture, such as the "horns" made with the fore and little finger, or the sign of a cross or swastika; others carry an article possessed of mana, such as a tiger's tooth, or a rabbit's foot, or the hair or nails of a wizard, or an amulet or sacred book; others protect themselves by repeating certain words or prayers, of which there are volumes, provided for all occasions, in the literature of Egypt, India, and China.

3. THE PRIEST. THE ASEPTIC CLASS

It is easy to see that such a method could grow into a system requiring an elaborate form of organization. The welfare of the tribe depended on keeping away from it the miasma with which it was everywhere surrounded, and on keeping in touch with the mana, which was usually supposed to centre in the tribal god. Now, if any man infected with the miasma approached the mana, he would not be helped but punished and probably slain. Yet it was only by mana that a man could be cleansed from his infection. This made it necessary to have in each tribe one or more men who knew how to apply the mana in such a way that it would cleanse and not destroy, and who kept themselves so absolutely aseptic that they could always have access to the mana, without danger.

These men were called sometimes kings and sometimes priests. In certain African tribes the king is chosen for this purpose and kept apart. When he fails to preserve the tribe, he is put to death and another is chosen. Frazer states that in Fernando Po such a king or priest was kept shackled in the crater of a volcano, lest he should go out and become

contaminated by looking at the sea or by touching some strange object. The Flamen Dialis, or priest of Jupiter at Rome, might not ride or touch a horse, he might not look at the army, or wear a ring, or have a knot in his garments, or eat wheat flour. He might not touch or even name a goat, a dog, raw meat, or beans. No man in bonds could enter his house. For various reasons contact with these things would infect him and render him unacceptable to the god. In Japan, at one time, the Mikado was supposed to preserve the nation in this fashion. He might not touch his foot to the ground, or allow the sun or air to touch his head. Part of each day he must sit motionless on his throne with his crown on his head. If he moved he brought disaster on some section of the country. Finally, at his remonstrance under this treatment, it was decided that the mana resided in the crown, and this was placed on the throne at a fixed hour each day.

4. SPIRITUAL ANTISEPTICS

The function of the priesthood was twofold: to cleanse the people from miasma and to bring them in contact with mana. This process was the essence of the primitive religions. It is an emotional culture carried out by an elaborate symbolism, on the main points of which all races agree. It is of value to consider the forms in which this type of group unity has clothed itself. In the first place, it involved the erection of a double barrier: one between the people and the miasma, and one between the people when infected and the mana. This was done in primitive tribes by what is termed the "taboo," which means placing an official ban on certain objects, places, and acts. If a native of the South Sea Islands breaks the taboo, he dies as a result of the fear and horror that he feels. There are few exceptions to this rule. A method of expiation is occasionally provided, such as touching the sole of the chief's foot, but this is rare. It is difficult for us to conceive the power of this emotional barrier. Most races put a taboo on cemeteries, and a faint reflection of this may be seen in the emotional attitude of some people toward

cemeteries at night. This must be magnified a thousandfold to comprehend the attitude of the primitive man.

The books of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* contain long lists of things that are taboo—in food, fish without scales and animals that do not divide the hoof or chew the cud; in clothing, any kind of mixed goods; in houses, those that have a certain lichen or mould upon them. All strangers and all strange articles are usually taboo, and the Old Testament records an instance where a man who had taken silver and clothing from the enemy was slain with all his family and his cattle. The intent was not to punish sinners but to purge the community of the contagion that was supposed to spread from these things. This is the chief reason why savages attack strangers; they are afraid of the contagion that emanates from them.

The barrier between the common people, who were subject to defilement, and the mana was equally strong. The Old Testament records the destruction of men who touched the ark, or who ventured into the tabernacle with strange fire, and every nation abounds in instances of the punishment visited by the mana for such sacrilege. Certain places and certain days of the week and year were set apart for the mana and preserved by a powerful taboo.

The priest, as was shown, had the power to pass this barrier. This was given him in a ceremonial in which he was consecrated, or protected from the miasma in every possible way. His hand, his ear, his tongue, and his eyes were all touched by some sacred emblem, to shield him from inauspicious sights, sounds, words, and deeds. He was anointed and washed and clothed in symbolic garments. He could then enter upon his function of cleansing the people of miasma and bringing them into contact with mana.

5. THE CURE OF CONTAGION

The ritual of purification in most nations was definitely prescribed. The Romans called it the *jus divinum*.

First was the part performed by the people; which we might term the conditions of approach. This might involve

fasting, chastity, vows, or gifts. Second was the ceremonial of purification. Water, fire, and spices were considered to contain mana and to be valuable in cleansing. The people were sprinkled or washed or taken through the flames or smoke of incense. When the ambassadors of Justin II were received by the shaman of the Turks, they had first to pass through clouds of incense, while bells were rung, and then to pass through flames, before it was thought safe to permit them, as strangers, to come in contact with the community. Other more potent ways were devised to get rid of the contagion. It was put in a stick or stone or in grass and thrown away or burnt. It was put on the head of a goat, which was driven off into the wilderness. In Rome, a man known as the *Mamurius Veturius* was clad in skins and driven out of the city with sticks. In Greece, Plutarch records that a slave was beaten and driven out in a similar manner. In Athens, slaves were slain after the contagion had been put upon them. The Israelites put it upon the head of a lamb, which was then sacrificed. Though ordinary blood defiled, the blood of a sacrifice was peculiarly valuable in cleansing. The idea seems to have developed that the more valuable the sacrifice the greater the cleansing power. In obdurate cases, where the infection was so great that the mana or god abhorred the people and was visiting them with repeated disasters, the son or daughter of the chief or king was sacrificed, as in the case of Agamemnon and Iphigenia.

This emphasis on the rank of the person sacrificed led in many nations to a symbolic sacrifice of the god himself, which was supposed to be more efficacious than that of the king's son. In Mexico, a beautiful girl was selected to represent the goddess. She was dressed in robes of brilliant yellow, with a mitre of iridescent green plumes, and garments whose pattern represented the waves of the sea. She had ear-rings of golden flowers and golden bells on her garments, and a shield of parrots' feathers. For several days she reigned as goddess over the feasts and dances. Then she was led up to the summit of the great pyramidal temple,

was thrown down on the altar, and her heart cut out and offered to cleanse the people of their contagion.

6. THE CEREMONIAL OF UNIFICATION

After the people were cleansed by lustration or sacrifice, there followed the part of the ceremony which put the people into touch with the mana or god. They ate of the meat of sacrifice, sharing thus the same life with one another and the god. They received a blessing or an anointing, or some symbol or amulet by means of which they could carry the mana away with them, and thus be sure of health and prosperity and success.

They also received directions from the god as to which course to pursue. With the Greeks and Romans an answer to queries was given by the augurs through examination of the entrails of the victims, or by the flight of birds. The Hebrews gained it from two stones, the Urim and Thummim, perhaps as the Chinese do to-day, from two blocks of wood.

The culture of unification which followed the cleansing was the form through which the sense of unity of the group was developed and maintained. It was a continual symbolic presentation of their union with the ancestral god from whom the mana emanated and with one another.

7. MIASMA AND MORALS

The culture against the miasma had little to do with what we call morals. It was an exclusive emotional culture which enabled the group to keep its integrity and its standards by placing barriers between it and the rest of the world. It had great possibilities, however, and in the leading nations was soon put to a valuable use. It is evident that there are in men many desires and impulses which are antisocial and which are likely to do great harm to the community, because they are so strong that no ordinary prohibition or instruction of elders can hold them in check. If, however, a barrier of equally powerful emotions can be erected between these impulses and acts harmful to the community, there is

the chance that a large proportion of such acts might be prevented. This was precisely what was done by the priesthood of the greater nations. In *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy*, along with bans upon clothing and food, we find inserted powerful taboos against stealing, licentiousness, violence, and injustice of many kinds. It was necessary to make it clear that miasma would infect men from these acts, just as it would if they touched a dead body or the prohibited food, and therefore they were required to repeat the long statement given in *Deuteronomy*, which describes how the miasma from such acts would spread to their bodies and houses and fields and cattle, and produce every sort of disease and disaster. In other nations there was a starting-point for morals in the well-established taboo against blood and death. Among the American Indians some tribes required several weeks of purification for any body of warriors who had slain their enemies in battle. This culture could easily be transformed into a taboo against murder and violence within the tribe. There was a very general taboo against women at seasons such as childbirth, and another against incest. It was not difficult to change these taboos to a taboo against licentiousness, or at least against certain forms of it.

These ceremonials cultivated in the community such a horror of any one who broke the taboo that he was shunned like the pest, and not admitted again to social intercourse until he had been through all the ceremonies of purification. This general attitude produced in the unfortunate transgressor or victim (since his act was often involuntary) such a sense of shame as to overwhelm him. This emotion of shame, combined with horror of oneself, we call a sense of guilt. This feeling remained until the victim was assured by the priest that the miasma was removed by purification. It is probably this emotion that kills the South Sea Islander who breaks the taboo. After generations of such training, whenever a man found that he had broken a taboo, whether it was known to others or not, there descended upon him this terrible emotion of horror, a consciousness

of the miasma which was now upon his trail. This is the theme of the Greek tragedies, where the miasma takes the form of the Avenging Furies. It is evident that here was an emotional culture of tremendous power which could be used by all the ancient races to prevent antisocial acts and thus to insure unity. However strong may be a man's impulse to kill or steal, this emotion of horror, when properly cultivated by adequate ceremonial, is more powerful. The culture was valuable also to the group in enabling it to exclude those who rejected or disregarded its standards. If too many strangers were admitted who were not trained by this emotional culture to respect the tribal god and his mana, and to fear the same things as being miasmatic, the laws and standards of the group would be broken up and it would lose its value in society.

We find, then, that nearly all primitive tribes produced a unity based on the idea of the mana and miasma. The form under which its sense of unity was cultivated was worship of the mana or god and the sacrificial meal and the ceremonials by which the priest conferred some share of the mana upon the people.

Unity of purpose was achieved in such a group by obedience to the will of the god as revealed by the priests and augurs from various signs. The law of the group was the double barrier of taboo between the people and the miasma, and the people and the mana. The forms in which the law was enforced were the various ceremonials of purification and of the exclusion of evil—the scapegoat, the sacrifice—and where these things did not avail, the destruction of the transgressor and his belongings.

The emotion that secured obedience to the mana was that union of love and fear that we call reverence. The feeling that secured obedience to the law was the combination of fear and disgust known as horror, and also the combination of shame and disgust and fear known as the sense of guilt, or remorse.

What we call prejudice to-day is a faint survival of the feeling cultivated toward those objects outside itself which

the group considered miasmatic. The exclusive group still exists in the world of to-day, and we shall return to study it under modern conditions. In general, it may be said that in the ancient world this emotional culture of mana and miasma was the chief force by which society was held together. It was like a power-house generating both positive and negative emotional energy, which could be applied according to the needs of the community. The king and priests could be charged with the mana or positive force, and thus become objects of veneration whose word was law and whose influence held the tribe together in all their endeavors. The miasma, or negative force, was used like a current of high voltage to charge and make impassable the barriers of law and custom which prevented unjust and divisive acts and which formed an inviolable fence around the tribe and secured its unity. Before we condemn the system as degrading superstition, we should consider the tremendous service it rendered mankind in holding men obedient to the law that was essential to civilization, when every impulse defied it, and in unifying them under the dominion of their rulers. It is foolish to cast aside so important an agent in civilization, unless we can replace it with some emotional culture strong enough to hold men obedient to law to-day. Surely the intelligence of the twentieth century should be able to control and direct the emotions of the masses more wisely and effectively than did the barbarians of 3,000 years ago, and it should be possible to produce a system of emotional culture which will do for our society to-day that which the old mana and miasma system did for the first great nations.

Before proceeding to follow the development of the patriarchal tribe into the nation it will be well to consider at greater length the emotional forces that produced the patriarchal family and the manner in which it differs from those forms of the family which have been termed matriarchal.

CHAPTER IV

SEX EMOTION AS AN AGENT IN SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

I. THE STATIC AND ERRATIC EMOTIONS THAT CREATE THE FAMILY

IT would seem unnecessary in the present age to call attention to the emotions of sex as a powerful motivating agent, since there are those who seem to hold that all emotion and action is reducible to this source. Sex is usually dealt with as an individual matter, however, and its possibilities as a unifying emotion in social construction seem to have been somewhat neglected. Since the days of Helen of Troy it has been thought of as more likely to produce strife and warfare than peace and unity. Yet, properly controlled and regulated by society, it has proved a most effective means of uniting men and has even brought antagonistic nations together in a manner that would seem incredible were one unacquainted with the way in which emotion can be brought to bear on the mind of the masses through ceremonials of unification.

The static emotional element in social unification is the feeling of unity associated with blood-kinship—the feeling of brotherhood or that of sons for their father. This tends to preserve unities already constituted. Sex feeling, on the contrary, is erratic and revolutionary in its tendency. This emotion, which binds a man to a woman with whom he may not be connected and whom he may never have seen before, when one regards it from the social point of view, is certainly an amazing device for the introduction of new elements into unities already formed. When one considers how difficult it is to create a sense of unity, it seems a most extraordinary provision of nature that an intense feeling of oneness can spring up abruptly between two individuals who were previously unacquainted and whose affiliations

were altogether different if not antagonistic. The patriarchal family is the product of the interaction of these two emotions, that of sex and that of blood-kinship. While the unity of the family is preserved, a new element is continually being introduced by means of marriage. Such an arrangement did not come about in a day and took many centuries to perfect. There is much discussion as to whether man is essentially monogamous or polygamous, and it is doubtless possible by assiduous efforts to train him in either direction. There are those who hold that he began his social career in groups where there was promiscuous intercourse between men and women. If there ever were such groups, they certainly formed no coherent basis for social development, and must soon have split up, from mutual jealousies and lack of any real basis for unity and leadership. The monogamic family is found among the higher animals and birds, and most anthropologists incline to the view that man was not below the animals in social organization. It is found that the most primitive tribes of which we have knowledge are strictly monogamic, and the consensus of opinion seems to be that polygamy was a later development, and that promiscuous intercourse existed rarely, and usually only when sanctioned as a religious rite. Though in most instances the family was monogamic, the interaction of the two emotions that produced it—the sex bond and the blood bond—brought about a most astonishing variety in its forms of organization. It might be supposed that the sex bond would form a connecting link uniting two families by the marriage of the son of one to the daughter of the other, and that the children would naturally belong to both families. This, however, was not the case. There were probably too many family feuds to permit any possibility of divided allegiance. In such a case as that of Montague and Capulet it must be definitely known on which side Juliet, as the wife of Romeo, belonged, and she must then be trained to feel unity only with that side. If the family tie is the stronger, then both husband and wife may remain members of their original families, and meet merely as

occasion requires. If the sex bond is the stronger, then either husband or wife must renounce the family allegiance and join the family of the other. In any case, it must be settled to which family the children belong.

2. THE FAMILY WITHOUT FATHERHOOD

A social organization in which the children belong to the family of the mother is usually called matriarchal. If the children and wife belong to the father's family, the organization is then patriarchal. Tribes with both types of organization are in existence to-day, and probably have existed from earliest times. The matriarchal system probably dates back to the period when the causes of birth were not known. Even then the women married, but merely to secure a mate and with no idea that he was the father of their children. Frazer and other anthropologists give accounts of tribes in central Australia who are still in this stage of development. They believe that the spirits of unborn children lurk in certain animals and in certain localities, and wait to pounce upon passing women, who are warned to beware of them. If, then, the woman sees a wolf and shortly after feels the pangs of childbirth, she assumes that her child came from the wolf. This is supposed to be the origin of the totem system. The child, when it grows up, claims the wolf as its father and, if a girl, her children become the clan of the wolf. In such a system the children naturally belong to the mother who bore them. The husband is merely an adjunct and no real part of the family, since he is not recognized as a father. The totem system is usually associated with the matriarchate or with matrilinear descent, and it would seem that where tribes were ignorant of fatherhood and considered that the mother's husband had no share in producing the children and no rights in them, the totem idea was generally adopted as an explanation of childbirth. It then continued as a tradition in many tribes, long after the true nature of fatherhood was discovered.

The totem tribes all believe in their descent from the totem animal. The Choctaws, who had the crayfish totem, believed

that they were once crayfish and lived under ground. They were smoked out by a god, who taught them to walk on two legs and talk. One tribe of California Indians claim descent from the coyote, and believe that originally they walked on four legs. They deplore the loss of their tail, which resulted from too sedentary a life. The Moquis with the snake totem believed themselves descended from a woman who gave birth to snakes. Many tribes dress in the skin of the totem; others tattoo the totem on cheek or brow. The clan regards the totem animal with reverence and each man calls it "father" or "brother." It was often regarded in the same light as an ancestral god with supernatural powers. No one in the clan would kill or injure the totem animal save in connection with definite religious rites. The totem was then possibly a substitute for the father in the matriarchal family.

There are several factors which determine whether a family is patriarchal or matriarchal in character. The family pedigree may be reckoned from mother to daughter, or it may go from father to son. The wife may come to live in the husband's house and belong to him, or the husband may go to live with the wife and become an appanage of her family and subject to its rule. The children may belong to the mother and inherit from her, or they may belong to the father and be his heirs. The family may be ruled by the mother or her family, or it may be governed by the father. In a complete matriarchate the descent is matrilinear, the children belong to the mother, the husband lives in the wife's house, and women govern the tribe and own its property.

3. THE COMPLETE MATRIARCHATE

Sir Charles Lyall describes a complete matriarchate which he discovered among the Khasi tribe in Assam. The oldest surviving mother is the head and source and only bond of union in the family. She is the owner of all the land as well as the head of the clan. Inheritance is only through the mother. The father who comes from another

clan has no kinship with the children, and therefore is not recognized as a father, but only as a husband. Even this relationship is less strong than kinship to his tribe, and whatever he earns goes not to his wife and children but to his mother and brothers and sisters. He usually leaves his own clan and lives with his wife, but in some places—in Jowoi, for example—he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house and only visits her after dark. In the complete patriarchal family, descent is from father to son; the wife renounces her home and family and joins that of her husband, the children belong to the father and inherit from him and he governs the family. In the matriarchate, the connecting bond is that of kinship to the mother. The husband is a sort of fifth wheel, a supernumerary, irrelevant to the family unity and not really a part of it, as is the wife, in the patriarchal plan. In the matriarchate the sex emotion then does not become the basis of the social order in the same way as in the patriarchate. There were two methods of religious culture by which the sense of unity might be developed and maintained in a matriarchal tribe. One was that of the totem. It is evident that if the husband was not regarded as a father, in the primitive matriarchal tribe, and all descent was through the mother, there was then no male ancestor who could be worshipped as ancestor of the tribe. The totem animal could, however, be made to take the place of the father, and a culture of reverence for it as the ancestor of the clan would serve to give the feeling of unity in the group. With this cult of reverence was combined, in many instances, the sacramental feast on the flesh of the totem.

4. THE WORSHIP OF THE MOTHER GODDESS

A more natural form of unification culture in matriarchal tribes is found in the worship of the original mother of the tribe. However they might feel about the father, no one could question that the children came from the mother and belonged to her. Since all descent is traced through the mother, it was natural that in place of the worship of male ancestors, which is characteristic of patriarchal tribes, the

matriarchal groups should reverence the first mother and that she should soon develop into a goddess. There is great variety in the gods produced by the patriarchal system, but the mother goddesses thus created, from farthest India to Gibraltar, were so similar in their characteristics that it leads one to the conclusion that although all primitive men may have been different in their characteristics, all mothers were the same, and that they must have been cast in a mould which combined the ferocity of the tiger with the productivity of the queen bee, including a touch of the cannibal mother who devours her own offspring. These features all appear in the rites of the Great Mother, who seems finally to have been associated with Mother Nature herself, and the cult usually dramatized the death of her daughter or lover in the wintry season and his resurrection and her impregnation in the spring. It is not surprising that divinity should have been associated with the mystery of birth and the miracle of the creation of new life, and that the emotions of sex, when once their function was understood, should have been regarded as divine. Apparently it was felt that all the violent primitive emotions of sex, of rage, and of frenzy that sweep a man beyond the control of his own will or intelligence were due to his being possessed by a god, and in the worship of the Great Mother, surrender to these emotions was cultivated as a means of sharing divine life. In America and parts of Africa and in the South Seas the totem-worship was more common, but all about the Mediterranean basin, as well as in Dravidian India, lived matriarchal tribes who maintained their group unity by the worship of mother goddesses, who were regarded as the source not only of the tribe but of all life. In nearly all cases this worship involved a sacrifice of the first-fruits of the harvest and of the first-born of the flocks and herds, and probably originally it involved the sacrifice of first-born children. At these rites the divine marriage by which fertility was secured was dramatized by promiscuous intercourse between men and women, and sometimes by a ceremonial marriage between the king or chief of the tribe and

the high priestess. There often remained in the rites relics of earlier totem-worship, and the totem animal representing the tribal ancestor or god was torn in pieces and eaten in a mad frenzy of intoxication and delirium, through which the worshippers hoped to attain divine life. Later, the totem became the lover or husband of the mother goddess, and he also was often killed and devoured in the person of a representative. There are still instances to-day, notably among the Khyrim, where the high priestess of the mother goddess is the recognized head of the tribe.

5. THE MODIFIED MATRIARCHATE

We find traditions of warfare between such armed tribes, ruled by women and known as Amazons, and the early Greeks. The issue could hardly be doubtful in the long run, and the recognized superiority of men in warfare may have occasioned those modifications in the matriarchate which resulted in the more usual form where the group is governed by men, although the matrilinear descent remains. Among the Orang Mamaq in Sumatra, the head of the family is not the husband but the wife's brother. Although marriages are strictly monogamic and indissoluble save by death, the husband has no control of his own children, who are not regarded as belonging to him. Sometimes he continues to live with his mother in his own clan and sometimes he lives with his wife and is ruled by her family, but she does not come to his house or join his clan. There are many tribes in which this avuncular system is in effect. Such a tribe is ruled by descendants of the woman through whom kinship is traced. Such rulers of the group are not the fathers of the next generation of the tribe, for their wives and children belong to other clans. Inheritance descends from the maternal uncle to his sister's son, and a man has no interest in his own children. In the next stage, which is familiar in most of the South Sea Islands, in Australia, and among many tribes of the American Indians, the father is the head of the family and the wife comes to live with him, but does not renounce her clan. The children

belong to her clan, and descent is reckoned through the mother. The father, however, owns the house and family property, and his sister's son inherits his possessions and rank. The head of the tribe among the American Indians usually is a chief chosen in a council composed of all adults, both male and female.

The organization of the matriarchal tribe at first was undoubtedly very simple, as it embraced only the blood-relations of the mother. When the fact of fatherhood was recognized it became much more complex, owing to the strong feeling against inbreeding. Attempts made to explain this feeling of horror against intermarriage with blood-relatives seem inadequate. Whatever the reason, the feeling exists, and results in the complicated form of tribal organization by clans and phratries. In spite of the strong feeling against marrying any one close of kin, no one was allowed to marry outside the tribe. This resulted, among the Dieri of Australia, for example, in a tribe divided into two clans, each of which could select its wives from the other. In such cases a man speaks of the women of one clan as his wives and of those of the other as his mothers, this language indicating a potential and not a promiscuous relation. This method is too simple to meet the situation when fatherhood is recognized. If the children are placed as usual in the mother's clan, the two-clan system would allow them to marry some close relation of the father, which would be regarded with horror. Accordingly, many tribes were divided into phratries, each of which was subdivided into clans. The Moquis have ten phratries and twenty-three clans; the Senecas had two phratries and eight clans. In such cases a man must marry a girl from the corresponding clan in another phratry. His children were usually placed in the mother's phratry, but in another clan, which could not intermarry with the father's clan. Each tribe had its special rules and arrangement of clans. Sometimes the children belonged to the same clan with the mother and sometimes to different clans from either father or mother, and it was definitely prescribed into what clan they could

marry. The rules were all aimed to prevent marriage between close relatives but varied greatly even in adjacent tribes. Thus by the interaction of three powerful emotions—sex attraction, the sense of blood-kinship, and the horror of marriage with those closely akin—there was produced every conceivable variety of tribal organization.

6. THE CHANGE TO PATRIARCHAL FORMS

It is probable that during the period when the matriarchate was in force in the Mediterranean basin there were many tribes on the northern steppes that were patriarchal in organization, and more active and warlike and aggressive than the more sedentary Mediterranean tribes. From the contact between the two types there resulted a gradual change, in the Mediterranean tribes, from the matriarchal to the patriarchal form. This was due in part to the greater efficiency of the patriarchal system. In order to create a coherent social structure, the units from which it is built must themselves be coherent. It is, moreover, a great advantage if the structure is so arranged that the feelings developed in the smallest unit can be expanded and applied to construct a nation. The matriarchal family under the totem system was incoherent, and the forces that united it worked against the larger group unities. The family itself was not a unity at all. Take, for example, a tribe composed of two phratries, A and B, each of which was divided into two clans—A₁, A₂, and B₁, B₂. The father would belong to A₁, the mother to B₁, and the children to B₂. The children would not belong either to the father or mother, and the mother would not belong to the father. The unifying forces would all be at loggerheads. Sex attraction would not be potent enough to take the wife from her clan and unite her to her husband, and the natural affection which children have for their parents would have to be transferred to the leaders of their clan. Such a family was certainly not a coherent unity. The unity of the clan also must have seemed arbitrary and unreal when it was split across by these conflicting family interests. It is plain that such a

system would not lend itself readily to social construction, and it is not surprising that no great civilization ever came from it.

The patriarchal family, on the other hand, was a coherent unity in which all the men and daughters were held by blood-kinship or family affection and all the wives by the other powerful unifying force of sex attraction. By renunciation of their own family connections the wives removed the possibility of that division which must always have been felt in the case of husbands under the matriarchal plan. The patriarchal family developed its ritual of unification, where the father was the priest and the mother the priestess of the sacred fire on the hearth, and the god was the family ancestor. The ritual often included a group of several generations (in early England it was seven or nine generations), and this group was much more coherent than the matriarchal clan, where the marriage relation cut across and impeded instead of assisting its coherence. This family ritual it was possible for the Romans to expand to include the tribe, the city, and finally the empire, as will be shown later. Of as great value was the tremendous power given by the patriarchal idea of marriage, with its symbol of renunciation, of which we will speak later, to the sex bond which united the father and mother. This became so intense in its emotional power that in India, for example, the wife really felt that she could not exist apart from her husband, and often insisted upon being burnt on his funeral pyre. Akbar found it almost impossible to abolish this custom, and the British have had the greatest difficulty in doing so, as wives were continually eluding the law and insisting on their right to die with their husbands. While such an extreme development is undesirable, the feeling of unity between husband and wife created by the patriarchal symbolism has been of incalculable value to the world. This ancient feeling is now being destroyed by the influx of fraternal ideas of personal independence, which have broken up the patriarchal method without supplying any other means of cultivating a sense of family unity. This is

only another instance of the thoughtless impetuosity of this age, which is continually destroying, on account of some discomfort, the vehicles in which humanity has travelled safely for centuries, and before it has taken the pains to construct a new and more commodious conveyance. The result is that there are many footsore and disillusioned travellers upon the road. The patriarchal family, then, was of greater value in social construction than the matriarchal, because of its coherence, solidarity, and adaptation to warfare, and because its ritual could be expanded to the forms of kingship and national government. It, therefore, tended to subdue or replace the matriarchal system.

7. THE COUVADE

Another reason for the gradual transformation from matriarchal to patriarchal forms was probably the desire of the father to own his own children and his resentment at having them taken away to the mother's tribe. It was by no means easy to alter the feeling of a race that for centuries had regarded it as self-evident that the children belonged to the mother who bore them. It was doubtless to change the feeling on this point that the extraordinary custom of the couvade appeared. This dramatized the fact that the children belonged to the father and not to the mother. As soon as the child was born, the father took to his bed with the child in his arms, where he was carefully tended and nursed, while the mother went about her work. After this every one recognized that the child belonged to the father and to his tribe. This custom still prevails in parts of China, India, Borneo, Siam, Africa, and South America, and there are even traces of it in Spain. In certain parts of the West Indies it was once the custom that the woman should work until a few hours before the birth of a child, while the father for several days ceased to hunt and was forbidden to eat the flesh of certain animals lest the child should resemble them. After the birth the father becomes an invalid, and cannot wash, smoke, touch weapons, or eat anything save fermented liquor and gruel.

Six weeks after the birth the relatives lacerate his skin, rub him with pepper and hold a banquet, and for six months he cannot eat either fish or the flesh of birds.

In some tribes the father purchases the child from the mother, which would seem an easier method of securing ownership, even if less convincing. Such were the devices by which men were made to feel that children belonged to the father instead of the mother. A further stage was necessary before the family became entirely patriarchal. The wife must also become a part of the husband's family and clan. It has already been stated that in such matters of group unity the important point was not the form but the feeling of unity. The wife had been trained for centuries to feel her unity with her mother's clan and to feel that she was apart from the husband's family. In order to create a united patriarchal family, it was necessary to dramatize in some way the separation between the wife and her own clan. This was done in some tribes by the formal purchase of the bride by means of a dowry given to her relatives. In other tribes good form required that the bridegroom should forcibly seize the bride and carry her off from her relatives on his horse. Even in matriarchal tribes when a woman was carried off by a man in a war raid she was regarded as his property, and her tie with her own family was severed. When the practice of elopement became general in a tribe it put all marriage on this basis. The patriarchal marriage ceremony was a dramatization in which the bride renounced her family and gods and swore allegiance to the family and gods of her husband, in a series of ceremonials whose form varied but whose significance was the same. It was thus that she became the priestess of her new home and the guardian of the fire upon the hearth. By every sacred symbol her unity with her husband's family and tribe was cemented. It was this coherent family, with its ritual where all worshipped the same gods and recognized the same ancestors, that was easily expanded to include the tribe and nation. Under the totem system, where father and mother and children each recognized a different ancestry

and different clan gods, it was difficult to hold the various clans in any unity merely by the network of intermarriage. Other methods, such as the amalgamation of gods, were sometimes called in to assist. In Samoa, for example, there was a belief that a tribal god was incarnate in the different clan totems—the lizard, the owl, and the centipede—and the various clans all worshipped this god of the tribe. The system was feeble as a culture and far inferior to the patriarchal as a unification culture. It is, therefore, not surprising that all the great civilizations sprang out of the patriarchal culture, which created coherent family groups and which also lent itself naturally to dramatizations of unity on a larger scale between tribes and nations.

To sum up, then, we find that in the matriarchal system the two emotions of blood-kinship, or family affection, and sex attraction failed to create a coherent family, and that this was accomplished under the patriarchal system by the wife's renunciation of her blood-relationship and by her adoption into the husband's family.

8. SEX RELATION AS A MEANS TO UNITE TRIBES AND NATIONS

Sex attraction was useful in other ways to the social fabric than merely as an aid in constructing the family. Among primitive tribes it could not be used to bind together groups that were at war, since marriage was not ordinarily permitted outside of the tribe. We find, however, that in case of a blood-feud women were sometimes given by one tribe as hostages and married by men of the hostile tribe, and that a certain sense of unity was thus created. Women were at times exchanged in the Solomon Islands as a pledge of good-will between two communities. Brides were given as a compensation for homicide, in northeast Africa, on the Slave Coast, and among the Afghans, and families were thus reconciled. It is said that Maxwell, the owner of the famous ranch in New Mexico, was attacked and plundered by all the Indian tribes in succession until he married some ten Indian girls who were the daughters of the chiefs of

the Utes, the Piutes, the Apaches, the Comanches, the Kiowas, etc., and that with these wives as hostages peace was thenceforward observed. This method came more and more into effect as the patriarchal kingdoms developed and the tribal taboos were removed. There are records of marriage alliances between Egypt and Chaldea. In Egypt, the Eighteenth Dynasty intermarried with the royal family of Mitanni, and Rameses II married a daughter of the Hittite king. Solomon married a daughter of the Pharaoh, and also daughters of other neighboring princes. Such marriages created a certain sense of unity and held nations together in peaceful relations. Some consider that polygamy originated in the patriarchal family as a method of forming alliances, and there are races where polygamy is limited to the rulers.

The feeling of unity between the sexes produced its greatest effect on the social structure under the feudal system, at that period when the vassals of a lord were so closely attached to him that they were involved in his marriages as well as in his wars. It is an extraordinary fact that at this period while conquest or diplomacy or treaties might utterly fail to unite two principalities, it could almost always be done by matrimony. The conquest of one power by another would produce no sense of unity, but only of antagonism, whereas if the ruler of one married the ruler of another, the people of the two nations often felt themselves as much united as were their principals, and strife between them ceased. In fact, in the Middle Ages this method of uniting dukedoms into a nation entirely replaced the old system of amalgamation of gods. In other words, the feeling of unity associated with the union of a man and a woman in marriage took the place of that sense of unity derived from blood-kinship, as the great means of uniting groups into a nation. The great empire of the Hapsburgs was built up in this fashion, by marriage with the heiresses of various provinces of Germany, of Hungary, of Burgundy, of the Netherlands, and of Spain. These nations spoke different languages and had different customs and traditions, but

they were all held together because the bond of sex between their rulers was felt to constitute a real unity.

The ceremonial of marriage between the rulers dramatized the unification of the countries in so vital a way that no one questioned the unity of an empire that had no other basis than the sex relation between the rulers of two countries. It is, therefore, evident that just as the feeling of unity between father and sons was expanded to include a nation, so the feeling of unity between a man and a woman was also expanded until it could unite separate nations into one kingdom—so amazing are the results that can be produced upon civilization by dramatizing an emotion. Since the important point is to make men feel at one, the effective method is neither logic nor force, but a dramatization of some emotion that they can be made to feel as a connecting link, and the feelings of sex in their expanded form have been utilized by statesmen as effectively as they have used the parental and filial emotions, to unify nations and races and to build a stable civilization. It is hard for us to realize the part which this emotion has played in history. If we were told that the fate of our nation depended on the love-affairs of some young woman—that if she married a Frenchman we should become a part of France and subject to its laws; that if she married a Spaniard we should become Spanish; or if she married a German we would be subject to German rule—we could then begin to understand the situation of the peoples of mediæval Europe. It will be regretted by few that this method is not in practice in America to-day.

CHAPTER V

THE KINGSHIP AND THE NATION

I. THE MEANING AND INFLUENCE OF THE IDEA

No idea has had greater power to arouse emotions in the soul of man than that contained in the two words "king" and "god." It is by means of these two words and the ideas they connote that thousands were held together in unity and civilization was made possible. The idea contained in the word "father" and the emotions that accompanied it sufficed to hold the family together, but in the words "god" and "king" we find all the force of the word "father," with an added emotional power so vast and mysterious that it has been able to stir men to endeavor beyond human strength, and to a loyalty unshaken by torture and death. For these two words and the culture connected with them developed that sense of unity between a man and his king and between a man and his god that has been perhaps the strongest force in civilization. The meaning of these words has varied greatly in the course of history, and each race has added a new contribution to their content, so that the word "god," which originally meant merely an heroic man, and which in Japan was applied to any deceased ancestor, good or bad, has now come to mean the supreme power that controls the universe, and connotes something quite other than man. Changes nearly as great have occurred in the significance of the word "king." It has been shown that when the patriarch or head of a tribe died, it was believed that his spirit still lived on as the ruler or ancestral god of the tribe. It was supposed that in the other world he acquired a mysterious power over the forces of evil or miasma and an association with the powers of good or mana. In some tribes he was gradually identified with one or other of the nature forces, and there are many tribes who consider that their father is the sun or the sky or the storm, and their mother the earth

or the sea. We have noted how, as the tribe expanded, it kept its sense of unity through the worship of such a common god or ancestor.

To secure the other two essentials of group unity, a common purpose, and the enforcement of law, something more was necessary than an invisible and inaudible god. In answer to this need appears the figure of the priest or king, who incarnates the god and through whom the god speaks and acts. Different ideas were emphasized by different tribes in their conception of this office. For some the king was the one who protected them from evil or miasma by the mana or power of the god resident in him. We have noted how such kings were kept jealously apart that no evil contact might mar their power. Even to-day there are reports of a king in central Africa who cannot be approached by strangers until they have been bathed for two successive days and until pepper has been rubbed in their eyes. Until recent years the dalai-lama of Thibet was such a sovereign, and for a stranger to bring defilement upon him by approaching his neighborhood meant certain death. Other tribes emphasized rather the power of the king to communicate the will of the god. In order to secure the united action of his men it was customary for the King of Tonga to go into a trance. The words which he then spoke were obeyed by all as the will of the gods. This custom was characteristic of most of the South Sea Islands.

All such kings or chiefs had the power to enforce law for the benefit of the tribe. If there was a shortage of pigs or of cocoanuts, the chief placed a taboo upon those objects. No punishment was necessary to enforce this law, for each native knew that if he broke the taboo and ate the forbidden food the forces of evil would certainly destroy him. The three essentials of group unity—the sense of unity, the common purpose, and the enforcement of law—all centred in the king. To carry out the common purpose, however, was likely to involve an exposure to defilement that hindered the two other functions of the king, and there came about, therefore, the division of the kingship into the two offices of priest

and king. The priest kept himself isolated as the source of mana, and the king became the practical leader of the people. This division is found among the American Indians, where the medicine-man is the priest and sits apart and supplies mana, while the chief conducts their campaigns. In the battle with Custer, Sitting Bull sat apart and made medicine, while Rain-in-the-Face did the fighting.

It was necessary that the king, as well as the priest, should be recognized as representative of the god, or he lost his authority as leader and enforcer of the law. The Egyptian kings dressed up in the traditional costume of Amen Ra at certain periods, and the kings of Rome appeared as Jupiter Capitolinus. This custom was perpetuated by later Roman conquerors, who appeared in this guise in their triumphs. The king also was often declared to be the son of the god, either on account of his ancestry or because of direct miraculous birth.

2. THE SUCCESSION

In order that the unity of the tribe should be preserved, it was necessary to have some fixed method by which the king was selected. Otherwise, at the king's death the tribe was at once split asunder by rival candidates. The simplest method was that of primogeniture. This, however, does not necessarily secure the best man. It proved harmful in the Roman Empire when Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by Commodus, or Vespasian and Titus by Domitian. A dynasty tends to run out and to end in a succession of weaklings. Frazer states in his lectures on the kingship that before marriage was recognized, and while the fatherhood of a man was unknown, the succession was in the female line. The custom of exogamy—marriage outside the tribe—is usually associated with this idea. There were two types of exogamous marriage: the Deega, where the wife goes to live with her husband's people, and the Beema, where the husband dwells with his wife's family. In the earliest types of kingship the succession seems to have followed the system of the Beema. This method is still in use in parts of

Africa to-day. Under this system the kingdom does not go to the king's son, but the king's daughter gives her hand to the bravest and handsomest suitor from other lands, who meets certain tests of prowess, and is then accepted by the princess and the people as king of the land. It is evident that this system has great advantages. It preserves the sanction of divine descent, and at the same time brings in new blood of the best type. Greek tradition reports that Pelops, son of Tantalus in Asia Minor, did not inherit from his father, but gained his kingdom by marrying Hippodamia, daughter of the King of Pisa in Greece. His son, Atreus, again did not inherit from him, but became King of Mycenæ, and Atreus's son, Menelaus, became King of Sparta by marrying Helen, the daughter of the king of that country. In Rome, apparently each new king was a stranger, or perhaps a plebeian, who probably acquired the kingship by marrying the daughter of the former king. It is quite possible that the reason the kings of Egypt married their sisters so frequently was that, originally, succession belonged to the daughter of the king, and the king's son could not obtain it without marrying his sister. There are instances where a king's son married his stepmother to secure the succession. The familiar fairy-stories that tell of the poor young adventurer who marries the princess are probably a reminiscence of the days when the succession was determined by the marriage of the king's daughter. The custom obtained among the Picts and probably in Denmark. Canute married the widow of the former King of England, to secure the succession to the English throne. If the custom of a succession determined by the choice of the princess had continued, it might have saved Europe much misery endured at the hands of degenerate Bourbons and Hapsburgs. In certain ancient tribes the unmarried daughters of the king were made vestals, and men have claimed the succession as sons of the vestal and of the god whom she worshipped.

Many tribes, dissatisfied with the system of male primogeniture, elected their kings by vote of the people. But in order to keep the sanction of divine descent, the selection

was made from certain families that were recognized as children of the gods—as the Goths chose one of the Amals for their king. This method had its abuses, for frequently one member of the family would massacre all the others, to insure the succession for himself.

The less uncertainty there was in the succession, the more secure was the prosperity of the nation, since it was free from the strife and confusion incident to a disputed kingship, and in the long run the system of male primogeniture has succeeded best, since it seems less open to dispute. There need be no interruption of the kingship when the herald can proclaim: "*Le roi est mort; vive le roi.*"

3. THE SYMBOLISM OF KINGSHIP

There is another method besides the succession which was invented to secure permanence and stability for the kingship. When a kingdom is conquered by a stranger, he may hold it for a time by force, but is liable thus to destroy its unity and to meet with rebellion. He is not recognized as the king, but is a foreign enemy. Now certain nations developed the idea of a kingship or crown which existed even where they had lost their king. It was represented by certain symbols, and the power or mana of the king centred in them. If any man could clothe himself in these regalia he was recognized as king. This separation of the authority from the man was a great achievement for the primitive mind. The king's authority was symbolized by his crown and purple robe and sceptre. The idea of the kingship could thus be detached from the king, the office from the man. Society created an idea, called it an office, and could then confer it on any man, who thus acquired all the prestige it had accumulated through the ages. Before the charm would work, however, it was necessary for a man who had clothed himself in the symbolism to make the people feel that he had a right to it. Hence the miraculous births and signs with which a new dynasty was introduced. When the priest of Heliopolis assumed the crown of Egypt at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, it was proclaimed that it was

his by right, since he was the son of the god Ra by the priestess of the Sun.

By creating a king who should represent its ancestor or god, a tribe secured its unity of feeling and action. By means of the succession it gave permanence to the unity, and by the symbolism of the office it became possible to transfer the kingship and its associated emotions even to an individual who was out of the succession.

With this equipment it was possible for a tribe to preserve its identity and unity over long periods and to develop in culture and in resources.

4. THE DRAMA OF REPRESENTATION

It is evident from the preceding pages that the kingship was the link from which hung the unifying system of the primitive group. The father of the tribe was replaced by the god, and the god was represented by the king. Each individual felt himself united to the king as the head of the tribe, and this sense of union was cultivated through the ritual of religion. In order that the tribal unity might not disintegrate at the death of the king, the idea of the kingship as a permanent office was developed, and to prevent division of the tribe in the selection of a new king, the fixed succession was established.

Nearly every racial or tribal group has made use of the kingship in its course of development. There were kings on every continent and in every age. Aryan and Semitic, Hindu and Parsee, Turk and Mongol, Malay and Polynesian, and even the negro of central Africa adopted this early invention of the human race, which was, in truth, the first step toward unification and civilization. It has been explained that a permanent unity or racial group must serve a triple purpose. It must develop and maintain the sense of group unity; it must enable the group to carry out a common purpose; and it must prevent division by enforcing justice. The reason that the kingship was so universally employed is undoubtedly that it provided the simplest form through which these three purposes could be accomplished.

It so organized the group that all three could be administered by one man. The group unity centred in him, his will became their common will, and his decision their justice. For their unification or government, as we usually term it, it was only necessary to provide a system by which his will and his decisions could be made manifest to each individual. This was accomplished by a further application of the principle of symbolism and dramatization from which the king derived his power. This method, which we now term representation, has been so elaborated and developed that it forms the basis of all government to-day. It is accepted as such a matter of course that it is hard to realize that it is fundamentally a sort of drama which appeals to the imagination and emotions. It has no reality in itself, and its only value is in this appeal. When that fails, any government based on representation must break down.

It has been explained that among many primitive races the emotional basis of the king's authority was a drama in which he appeared before the people arrayed to represent the tribal or racial god. It has already been stated that the King of Egypt was dressed on ceremonial occasions to represent Amen Ra, and that the early kings of Rome appeared on certain festivals in the guise of Jupiter Capitolinus. This dramatization was carried further in the administration of a nation. A man was sent to each province to represent the king. He was given the right to wear certain regalia, but through fear that he might supplant the king he was not allowed to appear in the full kingly dress. The symbolism was usually effective. A man who wore the king's ring was accepted in all his official acts as if he were the king himself. The officer in turn was able to send out subordinates who represented him. This dramatic representation was recognized throughout the civilized world. Any man who wore the king's official badge represented him in the imagination of the people; his acts were regarded as performed by the king, and his words and commands were heard as if spoken by the king. The king could thus be present everywhere throughout his dominion; and he could appear in

foreign lands in the form of his ambassadors. He could even be married through a representative, who went through the ceremony in his place. History records that when Joanna de Montfort married Henry the Seventh the bride was represented at the wedding by a cavalier, who plighted her troth and received the ring in her place. It is hard to conceive a greater departure from reality than such a wedding, but inasmuch as the dramatization was accepted by the imagination of all concerned and aroused the necessary emotions, that was all that was needed.

All early governments were little more than an organized system through which the king was represented in each town and province by certain officials, who transmitted his commands and administered his justice.

5. THE KING'S WILL

It would be impossible to devise a simpler form of unification than this of the kingship. It provided unity by causing the whole nation to recognize the will of one man as its will, and by thus making them all appendages to his personality. Every individual desire or opinion or plan was repressed save as it harmonized with the king's will. The strength and wealth and life of each subject were at the king's disposal to carry out his will. With many millions thus working together to carry out one purpose, civilization became possible. No one can stand before the Great Pyramid as it towers against the blue sky of Egypt, or walk through the gigantic pillared court of Karnak, or face the huge-seated monarchs that look down calm-eyed from the rock face of Abu Simbel, without awe and amazement at the marvels that the will of one man could create, thus reinforced by the strength of thousands. Not only were there great achievements of art and architecture, but the prosperity of the mass was increased by such stupendous works of engineering as that which produced Lake Mœris and organized the irrigation of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The concentration of wealth in the hands of the king and those whom he favored stimulated the production of works of art and literature, as men sought everywhere to win notice

and reward from the throne. The ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, of Susa and Persepolis, the palaces and temples of Delhi and Agra, of Madura and Ellora—all bear eloquent witness to the value of autocratic rule in producing monuments of art that awake the wonder of mankind through all ages, and that still stimulate the artists of to-day in their pursuit of beauty. If the will of the king had always been the good of his people and his justice had been equally fair to all, it might be that the kingship would have remained the only form of government on earth. Such kings there have been in all races and lands—men like Alfred of England, Saint Louis of France, or Asoka of India—and under them men lived in prosperity and happiness.

But the men who can be trusted with such power are few, and each nation soon discovered that the king's will was usually to use the strength of the people to minister to his own desires and glory, or, in modern phrase, to exploit them for his own benefit; that his justice meant favoritism, and that his laws were framed to give special privileges to the classes he favored. The real difficulty lay in the type of unification and in the emotions involved in its successful operation. The basis of the whole system was the feeling of reverence felt by the people for the king as the representative or son of their god. He must, therefore, be treated as a god, and worshipped as a being apart from common men. They must bring him offerings and he must always appear before them clad in magnificence. Each act of his must be a stately ritual. All who are connected with him, or who minister to him, must be regarded as sacred. The moment this feeling of reverent devotion fails, the people will no longer obey, the sense of national unity is broken, and division and revolution follow. It is therefore necessary for the king, as the agent of national unity, to accept the worship and offerings of his people, and to live with his associates on a scale of magnificence apart from the common herd. This is the price they pay for the unity and peace that makes their civilization possible. To succeed and serve his people well, the king must come to believe that he is

truly a god and deserves the worship they give him, and most kings of the past were trained to feel this. Many a king has lost his kingdom because he did not feel it right to exploit his people, and because he sought to act as a common man and lost the reverent awe of his subjects. It is difficult to find a king who can accept worship and yet love his people, who can live apart in magnificence and yet understand the poorest of his subjects, who would accept enough of the offerings of his people to keep their reverence, yet not demand so much as to make them suffer, who would keep the hedge of divinity about himself and all his associates and yet treat all with justice. It is not surprising that the number of such kings in the course of history is small.

It was probably more important to the welfare of the people in the early civilizations that the king should keep their reverence than that he should be just. Injustice hurt a few, while the loss of reverence for the king meant the wreck of the system of unity that held men together and the end of civilization in universal strife and plunder. The worst kings were not those who trod the common man in the dust, but those who lost his respect in descending to his level. The system therefore tended to create a type of king who was utterly indifferent to the sufferings of the masses, and who felt assured that his opinion was always right and that his will was the only law. The maintenance of such an official by the community seems perhaps a heavy price to pay for its unity and civilization, but when one considers the fate of those tribes which had no such system, the continual strife and slaughter of warring clans, each of which sought only to destroy and plunder the next, while none had sufficient resources to develop any real civilization, one is inclined to believe that such tribes would have fared better to secure unity and peace at the price of the kingship.

6. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Just as the king's will was communicated through his representative to all his people until it became the national purpose, so in like manner the king's justice was brought to bear throughout the land by his representatives. As

already stated, such a system is necessary to preserve the unity of the group. Two things are essential to prevent disunion: first, disputes between members must be settled in such a way as to put an end to the divisive emotions of anger and hate; and, second, those who rebel against the customs and standards of the tribe must be cast out. In the primitive tribe this was accomplished by the taboo and by the system of mana and miasma through which the customs and laws of the tribe were enforced and strange elements excluded. At first this was done by the priest through the forms of religion, but it came more and more into the hands of the king. It was his function to decide disputes and to affix penalties for injuries. The prevention of disunion by the settlement of quarrels and by the punishment of injuries came to be called the administration of justice. As the state enlarged, the king usually appointed officials in each section to represent him in deciding such cases, and in a large empire there were either judges appointed to travel in circuit, or else there was a provincial judge or governor, who in turn appointed local judges. All these were given badges which showed that they represented the king, and the litigants in each dispute were made to feel that it was the king who sat in judgment upon them through his representative. It was often possible to appeal from the decision of the local official directly to the king. It has already been explained that, in the case of offenses against the law of the tribe, the judgment was reinforced by the taboo through the ritual of religion, which taught that anything contrary to custom was miasmatic and infected by the powers of evil. The criminal was therefore regarded with abhorrence and cut off from the tribe. The system of representatives of the king, who administered justice, derived its power from the emotional background provided by religion. This produced a feeling of reverence for the king and the judge and a feeling of abhorrence for crime and for the criminal.

7. THE AMALGAMATION OF GODS

It has been shown that in order to maintain a sense of unity in a group the most effective method was to maintain

the worship of a common ancestor or god, that laws were usually enforced by a system of mana and miasma, which was administered by the priests, and that the united action of the group was obtained by selecting a king, who represented the god, and whose commands were obeyed by the people because of the emotion of reverence cultivated by the priests.

In this manner men were organized into tribes, each of which was a permanent group. None of them, however, was large enough to create a civilization of any importance, since no one of them could command sufficient resources or labor for constructive work on an adequate scale. Before such a civilization as that of Egypt could be created a further step was necessary. Some emotional culture must be provided by which tribes who had already developed their group unity might be fused. When one tribe conquered another, a momentary union was created by force, but as the gods were not the same, there was no sense of unity. The taboos of one did not work for the other, and the conqueror was regarded as a foreign enemy, whose power was to be broken at the first opportunity. The king could take over the crown and royal symbolism of the conquered tribe, but unless he had the sanction of the priests and of the god, he was still considered a usurper.

To meet this difficulty a most ingenious system appeared, which may be called the amalgamation of gods. How far it was planned by priest and statesman, or how far it was a spontaneous growth, we cannot now determine. Inasmuch as the sense of unity of each group depended on its unity with its gods, it is evident that if one tribe could be made to feel that its god was the same as the god of the other tribe, or that the two gods were of one family and therefore to be worshipped together, the two tribes would then feel that they were united and of the same family. This is apparently precisely what happened in Egypt, to render possible the creation of that civilization which is still the wonder of the world. In predynastic Egypt, Weigall tells us in his *History of the Pharaohs*, there were some five tribal

kingdoms, each with its ancestral god. These gods in many cases were similar to the animal totems that exist in many primitive races.

There was in the far south the kingdom of the Hawk, with the god Horus. Farther north, near Abydos, was another Hawk kingdom, with the god Osiris. Alongside them was the kingdom of the Cobra and the Vulture. The people of this kingdom were in scattered tribes extending as far as Buto in the Delta. The Cobra goddess was Isis, and the god worshipped by all the tribes of this group was the god Set. When the two Hawk kingdoms and part of the Cobra-Vulture kingdom were united by conquest, their gods, Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Set, were united in one family and worshipped together. Horus became the son of Osiris and Isis, and Set the brother of Osiris. Apparently, a section of the Set tribes revolted from this union, in a series of wars which resulted in the expulsion of Set from the divine family, so that in late years he came to be regarded as a hostile demon who had murdered Osiris.

Just north of the Hawk kingdom was that of the Reed, situated at Heracleopolis, and including Memphis, whose chief god was Ptah. Across from Memphis was On or Heliopolis, where the sun-god Ra was worshipped. Farther to the north, in the Delta, was the kingdom of the Hornet, where Neit was the chief goddess. About 3700 B. C. these kingdoms were all conquered by the Hawk king of Abydos, Narmer. He took over their regalia, the low red crown of the Hornet kings and the tall, white crown of the Reed kings, and is depicted as wearing both of these signs of royalty. The people of the Hornet and Reed kingdoms, however, did not recognize him as their king. With his son Mena began the First Dynasty, but it was not until well on in the Second Dynasty that the Hawk kings were recognized by the peoples of the north as their own kings, although some of them assumed the titles and regalia of the Reed king and Hornet king as well as the recognized title of the Vulture and Cobra king. By this time we find that the gods of the northern kingdom, such as Ptah and Ra and

Neit, had been combined with the Osiris family into an ennead, or family of nine gods. By this union of the gods from whom they descended, the peoples were made to feel their unity with one another, and in all the temples a culture was introduced in which the king was presented as representative of the local god and of the nine gods, and reverence for him was cultivated. At the end of the Fourth Dynasty a son of the high priest of Ra, the sun-god of On, became king. The succession of the Hawk kings had by this time become well established, and to sanction the authority of the new king it was necessary, as already noted, to present him as the son of the priestess of Ra by the god himself. Ra then became the supreme god of the ennead; his worship predominated throughout the country, and the kings from On took a new title, Son of the Sun.

Apparently, a similar process went on in the south, in the regions about Thebes, and the local deities, the Ram god Amen, the Vulture goddess Mut, and the Hawk god Khonsu, were combined to form one family of father, mother, and son. When the Prince of Thebes conquered the rest of Egypt after years of disunion, a sense of unity was again created by a most singular combination, which must have been utilitarian, since there is little in it of the ideal. The Ram-headed god Amen was identified with the sun-god Ra, and Amen Ra became the supreme god of Egypt. To satisfy and unite various factions, their gods were also identified with Ra, and we find the Hawk god and the Crocodile god under the names Horus Ra, and Sebek Ra. Many similar combinations may be noted. The king was presented as the son of the former queen by Amen Ra himself, and reliefs may still be seen in the temple at Luxor depicting the annunciation to the queen of the god's favor, his descent to her, and the miraculous birth.

There was thus developed throughout the land a culture which created everywhere among the people a sense of unity among themselves and a feeling of reverence for the king. Day by day each man entered the stately pylon of his temple, which, with its succession of magnificent col-

umned courts about a central shrine shrouded in mystery, was designed to cultivate the sense of awe, and there he saw the god of his fathers enthroned in one family with the gods of the other tribes, and represented in solemn pageantry as conferring life, power, and authority upon the king, depicted as the son of the god of the worshipper. So by continual ceremonials, magnificent in their display of wealth and power, each man was trained to a feeling of national unity in the worship of the national god and to reverence for the king as his representative. A fine example of this culture was discovered by Professor Reisner in the tomb temple of Menkaure. A series of beautiful sculptures was found, in each of which the king is represented with the goddess Hathor on one side. The supporting goddess on the other side, in each triad, is the local goddess of one of the nomes or provinces, each of whom was probably represented in turn. Each worshipper would, therefore, see the king supported by his own local goddess.

Great is the power of such a system of emotional culture. When once created, it cannot lightly be defied. It is not subject to reason, nor has it necessarily anything to do with morals or truth or reality. It is simply the emotional culture of group unity. Woe to the man who arbitrarily tries to alter it, even to make it the vehicle of eternal truth and high morals. One of the world's greatest men made this experiment and failed.

8. AN EXPERIMENT THAT FAILED. A GOD WITHOUT A CULTURAL BACKGROUND

After the great conquests by which Thothmes III reduced the nations of Syria to subjection, a new situation arose. The foreign conquests held together for a time by force of arms through the reign of Amenhotep II and Thothmes IV. In virtue of the vast resources drawn from them and concentrated in Egypt, the empire reached its greatest splendor under Amenhotep III, who may well be called the Magnificent, and who covered the walls of his temples and palaces with malachite, lapis lazuli, and gold.

His son, Amenhotep IV, met a situation of increasing difficulty. The nations of Syria, in spite of alliances and intermarriages, were all on the point of revolt. The king was an idealist and a visionary. The great thought had come to him, and probably to him first, of all thinkers in human history, that all mankind were one and that there was but one god. War, therefore, was wrong, for it was a quarrel between brothers. The proper solution, in case of international quarrels, was to cause all men to recognize this unity and to give them the idea that they were brothers. He began, therefore, to institute the worship of this one god, choosing for him a symbol of universal appeal: the sun's disk with projecting rays, each terminating in a hand, signifying the radiant energy which gives life to the world. Without the rays and hands this round disk was the recognized symbol of the god Ra. The symbol was significant both in Syria and in Egypt, and should have proved a basis upon which the king could create a sense of unity throughout the whole civilized world. He had only to go forward with the old plan and, with the aid of the priests, identify Amen Ra, of Egypt, with Baal of Palestine whose head was often portrayed encircled by the sun's rays.

Unfortunately, he was more of an idealist than a politician. There were superstitions in the worship of Amen Ra and Molech that were obnoxious to him and incompatible with the pure worship of the one god he sought to introduce. Therefore, instead of identifying his new god with the old gods of Egypt and Syria, and presenting the people with a Baal Ra, he attempted to replace them all with an entirely new god, whom he called Aton. He carried this replacement so far as even to alter his own name, changing it from Amenhotep, the Peace of Amen, to Akhnaton, or Akh-en-Aton, the glory of Aton. This the priests of Amen naturally resented bitterly, and a desperate conflict ensued. The king succeeded in erasing the name of Amen from all the temples and in substituting the worship of the one god in some of them. To the people of both Egypt and Syria, however, Aton was a strange god, and the dissolution of the empire, instead

of being prevented, was accelerated. The people of Egypt were divided between Amen and Aton, and the Syrians revolted. The Egyptian armies, unsupported because of the peaceful ideals of the king and the discontent of the people, were driven from Syria, and the great empire threatened to collapse.

At this crisis Akhnaton died, and his son-in-law, who had taken the name of Tut-ankh-Aton, found it necessary, in order to hold the country together, to return to the worship of Amen and change his name to Tut-ankh-Amen. The thought presented in the cult of the one god Aton would naturally have been more adapted to unify the empire than that connected with Amen, but it absolutely failed because the element of feeling had been neglected and the thought did not become a reality. The people had been trained for centuries to feel that Amen Ra was their ancestral god and that they were one great family in him. The new god was a stranger, and his cult brought no sense of unity—only one of strangeness.

The peculiarity in the system of Akhnaton was not that he tried to unify the whole known world by the worship of one god who combined the characteristics of the accepted gods of Syria and Egypt. This plan had been tried repeatedly and successfully in the past. The peculiar feature of Akhnaton's plan was that instead of identifying Molech, of Syria, and Amen Ra, of Egypt, with his new god Aton, and allowing the worship of the old gods to continue until it gradually became fused with the worship of Aton, he proceeded to put a ban or taboo upon all other gods than the one he had selected. This failed, as noted above, because he completely disregarded the emotional background that was essential in any such attempt. To cause the people to feel that Amen Ra, whom they regarded as the source of all mana and the father of them all, was a fount of evil infection, and to be viewed with horror, would have been the work of generations. Akhnaton's attempt was interesting because it was an effort to place the taboo not on objects but on gods and beliefs. Furthermore, it is probably the first attempt to create a re-

ligious monopoly by putting a ban upon all gods save one, and upon all religious beliefs and forms of worship which were not approved by the king. The people of the ancient world differed as to the special objects and acts that were miasmatic, and therefore to be guarded against and regarded with horror. But, in the main, they agreed in considering all gods to be sources of mana, and therefore worthy of worship. When an Egyptian was in Syria he considered it the part of prudence to make an offering to the god of that land. It probably would never occur to any common man of that day to doubt the reality or power of foreign gods. Akhnaton, however, had arrived at a very exalted idea of the One and Only God, which he probably derived from the learned Egyptian priests. While holding the higher belief as philosophers, the priests saw that the old-time cultus was needed to hold the people in unity. Akhnaton, apparently, saw merely that it was false, degrading, and therefore evil. He must have thought that it was necessary only to proclaim the true God and put a ban upon all worship of false gods, and the whole nation would accept the truth. He failed because the idea was new in the world, and he did not provide the emotional culture necessary to launch and maintain it.

CHAPTER VI

PERSIA—THE SEPARATION OF THE GOOD FROM THE BAD

I. A NEW TYPE OF RELIGION

THE preceding chapters seem to indicate that religion was used by the primitive tribes as an emotional culture to maintain the sense of tribal unity, and to create reverence for the ruler or king, and that by means of the device of amalgamation of gods it enabled the conquerors of alien tribes to build them into a unified civilization. The religious culture was designed to create a sense of fellowship with all members of the tribe, and a certain suspicion of all outsiders. While it reinforced the tribal taboos and caused the death or expulsion of those who broke them, it had no real ethical significance and was simply the means to create a coherent social group, which might include thieves, murderers, and adulterers, if these conformed to the customs of the group.

Religion served, then, merely to supply the cement by which a group cohered. In most cases it also created a fence which excluded outsiders and kept the group limits clearly defined. The basis of tribal unity was blood-relationship. Those who were akin to the god were usually supposed to possess his favor or *mana*; outsiders were his enemies and liable to his displeasure, and thus subject to *miasma*. The sacred or holy men were those related to the god; the unholy or wicked were those apart from him. It is difficult for a modern man to fully grasp this idea, so different is the present conception of religion. The old idea, however, is still present subconsciously, and is continually expressing itself in the prejudices of a group against the manners and morals of those outside its limits.

A religion of the ancient type did not lend itself to any

plan of world unification save by this syncretism of gods, a process which soon becomes too complex to be effective. Before the whole world could be united, it was necessary to develop an emotional culture of a different type from that which unified merely those of one blood and excluded all others; namely, one which would unite all the men of every race who had the qualities which made social life possible, and which would exclude only those who had antisocial qualities and were, therefore, incapable of higher civilization. It was a man belonging to that race which has since been considered by some the dominant race in civilization to whom was given the revelation of a god and a religion of the type that was destined to prevail, since it was one upon which world unification and the highest civilization could be based.

2. A CHIVALRIC RACE

The Anglo-Saxon race must feel a peculiar kinship to the early Persians. The latter belonged to the first branch of the great Aryan race to make its influence felt in the civilized world. Half of the early Aryans separated from the rest and descended into India about 1,400 years before Christ. We shall consider their development in a later chapter. The remaining tribes remained in the district of Bactria and around the Caspian, and became known later as the Medes and Persians. They are said to have first brought the horse to the knowledge of the Assyrians and Egyptians. Together with the horse, the dog was their constant companion, and in the Orient, where the term "dog" was synonymous of all that was vile and base, the Persians were unique in treating that animal as a friend, and in punishing with the utmost severity those who harmed him. No English sportsman has a keener feeling about horses and dogs than was shown by this ancient race. With this feeling there went, strange to say, much of that emotional attitude which we term chivalry, thus indicating its connection in our minds with the horse—"cheval." By chivalry we mean, among other things, a lofty courage, a fine sense of honor,

an implicit loyalty to a word once plighted, and a hatred of all falsehood and lies. It will be shown later of what supreme importance are these qualities to the higher civilization, and since we cannot assume that they are merely the result of association with the horse, it is most essential to discover by what emotional culture or religion they were produced and maintained.

3. THE ONE TRUE GOD

About 1,000 years before Christ there appeared among the Persian tribes in Bactria, and in the districts around the Caspian, a wandering reformer and prophet, named Zarathustra or Zoroaster, who was teaching everywhere a religion entirely new to the world, and so amazing in its spiritual content that it is hard for us to-day to realize that it could actually have existed. This reformer was not an ascetic apart from life, like most of the great religious prophets. He was a practical man, deeply interested in the life of this world, and with an enthusiasm for agriculture that would seem fanatical were it not evident that he regarded the cultivation of the soil as an essential in the moral development of the nomadic tribes to which he belonged. These tribes still held to the old Aryan gods, which are familiar in the Vedas of India: Varuna, the sky-god; Indra, the storm-god; Agni, the fire-god; and many others, including Soma, the god of the intoxicating juice used by the Aryans to throw themselves into an orgiastic state at their festivals. If these gods had been at first tribal gods, as some think, in Zoroaster's time they had reached the next stage of development and had become nature-gods, combined by amalgamation into a pantheon. While some of them, notably Varuna, possessed high ethical qualities, others, like Indra, representing the thunder-storm, were often symbols of brute force and cruelty. Such qualities were not detrimental in a tribal or national god, where the aim was merely group unification. The gods of the Greeks were serviceable to them, although Hermes was known as a thief, Zeus as an adulterer, and though it was recognized that any of them would

murder his enemies without compunction. But if an emotional culture was to be devised which would unite men not on the basis of blood-relationship but by creating good-fellowship among all men, it is evident that antisocial acts and feelings, which break up such fellowship, must be excluded, and that social feelings and acts must be cultivated. This could not be done by the worship of gods of cruelty, hate, and lust. On the contrary, the centre of such a culture must be a god whose character represented the ideal social virtues. Then by worshipping him the people would identify themselves with him, and come to share his virtues through the feeling of admiration for them expressed in the worship. Mana would then be no longer due merely to connection with the head of the tribe. It would be due to sharing the character or spirit of the god. Miasma would no longer be a mere outward pollution from contact with some tabooed object. It would result from antisocial feelings or acts.

One other point was essential in a system of world unification adapted for higher civilization. The old plan of amalgamation of gods had produced such confusion in the multitude of deities that it became impracticable. The natural remedy would be to replace the many gods with One God of all the earth. If the god was to present the highest ethical ideal, it would be logical to think that he must be the Only God, and that any less perfect should not be conceived of as a god at all.

4. ETHICAL SELECTION OF GODS

Whether Zoroaster thought out the problem in these terms, and thus discovered the only type of emotional culture adapted for world unification as the basis of the higher civilization, or whether it came to him as a revelation of truth and ultimate reality, we do not know. At any rate, it was precisely such a religion that he taught.

Akhnaton had seen the importance of monotheism and of a god free from the degrading traits of the old Egyptian deities, though he apparently did not conceive him in ethical terms. He failed because he attempted suddenly and arbi-

trarily to substitute a new culture for one rooted in age-long traditions, and to reverse the poles of mana and miasma by a mere decree, thus making holy what had been evil, and evil what had been holy.

Zoroaster proceeded more wisely. He rooted his teaching in antiquity, stating that in the golden age of Persia, Ahura Mazda, who seems to have been the Persian tribal god, was known and worshipped in his true nature by all the nation, which was then the Kingdom of Light. He did not attempt to do away with the ancient Aryan deities. He divided them on the basis of their moral qualities. Those which were worthy were retained as spirits ministering to Ahura Mazda and revealing his virtues. Those who were unworthy were placed in the kingdom of organized evil, which, under the leadership of Ahriman, the embodiment of falsehood, was forever warring against Ahura Mazda.

Varuna, the sky-god, or Dyaus, the father of the Vedic gods, were apparently identified with Ahura Mazda, as Herodotus says that the Persians worshipped Zeus, or Dyaus, the sky-god; Aramaiti, the earth-goddess, and certain Vedic gods of the water and plants and metals were promoted to a place among the Amshaspands or attendant spirits, and became now incarnations of the divine qualities, such as good thought, wisdom, welfare, and immortality. The bulk of the Vedic gods became part of the kingdom of evil, and the term Deva, signifying "god" in India, among the Persians was used to denote the devils or demons of the Kingdom of Darkness.

5. THE BASIS OF GROUP DIVISION

The important feature in the teaching of Zoroaster, from the standpoint of world unification, was the point at which he drew the line of demarcation for his group. As repeatedly stated, in all other religions the group line was drawn at the limit of blood-relationship, and all outside this limit were excluded. Zoroaster did a most astonishing thing. He drew his line straight across the whole creation and divided

it into the Kingdom of Darkness and the Kingdom of Light. On one side were all those men, animals, and plants that were noxious, poisonous, and harmful to society, and, on the other, all that were helpful and of value to civilization. For the first time the world was divided by a clear, ethical line into the two groups of the good and the evil. This did not mean that the group of the good was merely an expansion of the Persian tribe. The line cut across that tribe excluding those that were antisocial and including those of their enemies in the kingdom of Turan who accepted the commands of Ahura Mazda. In this system of emotional culture, truth and the love of it bore the highest part.

Ahura Mazda is spoken of as the truth, as Ahriman is often called "Draj," the lie. Porphyry says: "The body of Ahura Mazda is like light, and his soul is like truth." No image of him was permitted, for he was a spirit. The elements earth, fire, and water were revered as the expression of his nature. He was the One and Only God, for there was no room for another. Truth could not be double. Even Mithra, the popular god of good faith, who later became the sun-god, was eliminated in the original teaching of Zoroaster. Ahriman, the god of evil, was ultimately to be subdued and annihilated, leaving Ahura Mazda supreme. The religion was purified from its old corrupt rites, including the Soma worship. Men were taught that evil was the opposite of good. For every good there is a corresponding evil. This evil is not external but moral, and in the heart of man. Though it is negative where good is positive, evil is not a negation, as in some religions, but active and continually battling for supremacy. Other religions taught that evil spirits were to be propitiated. Zoroaster taught that they were to be resisted and fought to the death. His was a religion of conflict. The good man must fight against evil every instant in his own heart and in the outside world. He must cleanse the world of all that is noxious and base and vile, and neither flee from evil nor acquiesce. This was then a religion adapted to the soldier and the man of action. It is aggressive and progressive, Occidental rather than Oriental in character.

6. IMMORTALITY AND JUDGMENT

We have described the emotional culture of the miasma and the horror it created for objects tabooed or outside the group. Zoroaster seems to have regarded this miasma culture as superstition and to have passed it by as far as possible. In its place, to prevent the breaking of laws, he introduced another of the great truths of his revelation, that of the future life, which was to bear so great a part in later emotional cultures. Every evil thought or word or deed became a part of the man and bound him, to that extent, to the kingdom of darkness. At death he must cross the bridge of fate. Here he was judged. The virtuous passed across to eternal happiness in the kingdom of light, but if the weight of a man's evil deeds outbalanced his righteous acts, they dragged him down from the razor-edge of the bridge into the bottomless abyss and raging fires below. The culture of fear was thus applied against evil deeds, to reinforce the emotion of hatred toward them, which was kept alive by constant battle against the forces of evil.

There was no short cut to salvation. A man must counter-balance his evil deeds by a greater number of good deeds. The deity was just, and could not be hoodwinked or propitiated by offerings, or by any of the familiar devices of other religions. Such a belief in absolute moral values would seem more likely to commend itself to an honest and intelligent race than the various schemes of atonement evolved by other races for escaping the penalty of their evil deeds at the cost of the suffering of some other animal or man. Such cultures, efficacious though they may be in bringing men to the right emotional state, do not harmonize well with the Persian spirit, or with the spirit of chivalry.

Though Zoroaster taught a religion of conflict in a practical world, as opposed to the quiescent, ascetic philosophies of the Orient, he was by no means the prophet of the superman and of triumphant force that his modern apostle Nietzsche would have us believe. Zoroaster excluded Indra from his pantheon and made him a demon because he pos-

essed those qualities which some suppose are the essence of Zoroastrianism. His conflict was a moral one, though it included the destruction of all that is poisonous and vile.

7. THE CONFLICT WITH CEREMONIALISM

It would be indeed a miracle if a religion so far in advance of its day had come to great success 1,000 years before Christ. The Gathas, the earliest hymns of the Zendavesta, give us what knowledge we have of the real Zoroaster and of the success of his teaching. We learn that his life was a constant conflict with the forces of evil and the unbelieving world, until at last he converted King Vasishttha, or Gustasp, who was lord of a kingdom somewhere to the south of Bactria. The religion was apparently accepted by the ruling clan of the Persians, who still kept the name of Arya.

Zoroastrianism seems to have been greatly modified by the Magians in later years. The religion of the Magians apparently began as a crude fetichism and worship of the elements, mingled with all manner of taboos and magic practices. Whether Zoroaster himself belonged to the caste of the Magi, as some assert, or not, it is certain that he fought against their ceremonialism and practice of magic. Later, the Magians regained their ascendancy and brought great confusion into the clear ethical outlines of Zoroaster's religion. In the latter part of the Zendavesta, the Vendidad, this influence is already at work, and more attention is paid to the proper disposition of nail-parings and hair cut from the head than to evil deeds. Their rule provided that a man who killed an otter, or "water-dog," must receive 10,000 lashes, pour 10,000 libations, and kill 10,000 frogs—an instance of the lack of moral proportion. When the Medes conquered the empire of Assyria, they apparently introduced this Magian version of Zoroastrianism. It is supposed that when Cyrus in turn conquered the Medes, he introduced the purer form of the religion, which had been retained in Persia.

8. THE UNIFICATION OF THE EMPIRE

It remains to consider how this religion was applied as an emotional culture to unify the Persian Empire. We have explained its unique adaptation for world unification. Persia is said to have been the first nation to claim a world empire. The king asserts in his inscriptions that he is "the lord of all men from the sunrise to the sunset, appointed by Ahura Mazda, creator of heaven and earth." This does not seem an unreasonable claim, since his victorious armies had conquered all the nations from the Indies and the mountains of Hindu Kush to the cataracts of the Nile and to the savage tribes about the Black Sea, including all the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The king did not claim to be a god as did the kings of Egypt and Babylon. He was however, the chosen representative of the One and Only God. This god, however, was of too lofty a character to be understood by the mass of the people, and probably was accepted by few save the leading clans of the Persians. Most of the tribes apparently retained their old tribal gods, and conquered nations kept their old religions. Even the women of the royal family seem to have understood but little of the real religion. We are told that Omestris, wife of Xerxes, "buried alive fourteen Persian children to propitiate the god said to be under the earth." The religion of Ahura Mazda could not then be expected to have a great effect in unifying the masses of the people, since even in the royal palace it was so little understood.

To unify the empire, Cyrus could therefore gain but little help from his religion. There remained another common agent for unification, the ancient culture of the kingship. The culture of the throne was taken over from Assyria and Babylon. The king took the office and the crown, and the old ceremonial of reverence was continued. To make it efficacious in the eyes of Babylonians and Assyrians, the sanction of the god was necessary. Cyrus did secure the support of the priests of Babylon, and proclaimed himself the chosen of Marduk, but he never really accepted

the gods of Babylon. His religion was not one which could be amalgamated with those of the old empires, and he could only have regarded such a thought with horror. When Cambyses conquered Egypt, instead of amalgamating their gods with those of Persia, he attacked the gods and insulted the priests. He dragged the body of the former King Aahmes from its grave and mutilated it, and finally capped the climax by stabbing Apis the bull, which was regarded as the most sacred of the gods. After that, Egypt could only be held in subjection by force, although Darius did what he could to cultivate a more friendly feeling.

Although the Persian Empire utterly failed to create that sense of racial unity which had been the aim of other empires, it was remarkable in creating a system of unified administration, which secured peace and prosperity for all that was then regarded as the civilized world. Satraps or governors were set by the king over all the various provinces and conquered tribes. In order to preserve unity, these satraps were selected from the king's own family, or from among his special friends. He might thus hope that, although the province itself had no sense of unity with the Persian nation, so long as its governor felt himself a part of the king's family it would be held in unity by that link. The king did not trust entirely to this, however. A military commander was also sent to each province, who was independent of the satrap, and a secretary was also sent to the governor, who was in the king's employ. These men sent in independent reports, so that if any rebellion was contemplated by one, the other would notify the king. Thus unity was achieved by fear as well as by affection. The greatest thing accomplished by the Persian Empire was the intercommunication between all nations and tribes of the known world. Highways were built and posts were arranged, and thus an actual unity was created. Such a system is more adapted to the modern world than to that of antiquity. Nations were then so divided by prejudice and superstition that they could not feel unity with one another, even with the aid of intercommunication under the

rule of one king and of one universal god. It was a wonderful thing that was attempted by Darius the Great when he sought to bring the whole world together under One God, who was the embodiment of all virtues and holiness, and taught that evil was disobedience to the moral law. The unity Darius sought to establish was not by superstition through the amalgamation of totems and tribal gods, but by just government. That government was, of course, absolutely despotic. It worked well under such men as Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, by means of the elaborate system of government which controlled every small tribe through the king's representative. But it made the whole world obedient to each vagary of the tyrant upon the throne. If he chose to hurl the whole power of civilization upon the heroic little army of the Greeks, he could do so. Nothing in history is more interesting than the catalogue of the various tribes reviewed by Xerxes during his invasion of Greece; the ships of Egypt and Phoenicia, the black savages of the Sudan, the wild Arabs from the desert, the Mongolians on their camels, and the fierce tribes of the Caucasus were bound together in a stupendous system, and made obedient to the whim of this absurd tyrant, who sought even to beat the sea into submission. These subject tribes obeyed only through fear. Unless they could be brought to a real sense of unity with the Persian monarch, and thus feel his right to command them, they were certain to revolt at the first opportunity. It is for this reason that religion was more fundamental than government, in ancient civilization. Religion built up the sense of unity, while government could only enforce united action.

Esarhaddon of Assyria and Cambyzes of Persia both conquered Egypt, but their hold upon it was brief and precarious, for neither of them succeeded in amalgamating the gods of Mesopotamia with those of Egypt. Alexander, on the contrary, when he conquered Egypt, at once set to work to demonstrate to the people that the gods of Greece and of Egypt were the same, under different names. Zeus was identified with Amen or Ammon, and Alexander undertook

a pilgrimage to the famous temple of that god in a lonely oasis, where he was recognized as the son of Amen, or Zeus. Ptolemy, his successor, followed up this policy, with the result that the Greeks ruled Egypt peacefully for 300 years. The Romans, when they conquered Egypt, did the same thing, and the Emperors Tiberius and Decius may still be seen depicted as the sons of Amen Ra, on the walls of the temple of Denderah, and bringing offerings to the goddess Hathor, or Aphrodite.

In order to maintain their hold on Mesopotamia and unify the people in the centre of the kingdom, the later Persian monarchy made a slight attempt at amalgamation. Ahura Mazda was identified with Bel of Babylon, and a triad was constituted, consisting of Bel and Anahita, or Ishtar, the old Semitic mother goddess, and Mithra, the popular Persian god of truth and good faith, who, in his turn, was identified with Shamash, the Babylonian sun-god.

But the Persians did not succeed in this culture of the sense of unity. Their empire was really an autocracy which held thousands of tribes together by fear and force. Instead of awakening in the people the desire to bring offerings to the king as the representative of their god, the subject races felt that they were being exploited and plundered by an alien ruler, so that at the first shock of Alexander's phalanx the whole vast empire crumbled into fragments, which the heroic young demigod was able to reorganize and attach to himself.

9. THE ATTEMPT TO UNIFY GREEKS AND PERSIANS

Alexander, in his turn, met with difficulties when he attempted to hold his great empire in unity. Mention has been made of the method adopted in Egypt. But to amalgamate the various religions of Asia was impossible, nor could he at first assume the office of the Oriental despot and take over to himself the prestige and reverence associated with the Persian diadem, for his Greek followers regarded themselves as his comrades and were too democratic to take kindly to the prostrations required by the Persian cultus of

reverence for the throne. Alexander saw the necessity of adopting the Persian cult if he was to preserve the empire. He finally assumed the regalia and even proclaimed himself a god, against the violent protests of his friends, which resulted in the death of the one whom he valued most. He insisted that his captains should take Persian wives, and set the example by marrying the daughter of the Persian king.

To retain the various provinces, he planted in each a Greek city, which had the characteristic democratic government, and which provided a force of soldiers strong enough to hold the county in subjection.

After the death of Alexander, Antiochus attempted to develop some sense of unity by the method of amalgamation of gods. He introduced the worship of Zeus Oromades (Ahura Mazda), Apollo Mithras, and Artagnes Ares, and set up a statue of himself for worship with the inscription that it represented "the Immortal Thought that ofttimes stood visibly by me." This was a sort of substitute for the god-king method of acquiring reverence.

The Greek Empire went down before the onslaught of the Parthians, and they, in turn, yielded to the Sassanian Persians. Under the latter the old religion of Zoroaster was restored with something of its first purity, though many Magian elements remained. When that, in turn, fell before the Yueh Chi in the East, and the Arabs in the West, little was left of the old religion of Zoroaster. Nearly all of its present adherents are found in Bombay and are known as the Parsees.

We can only look back with wonder and reverence to that first prophet of the Aryan race who 3,000 years ago taught men of the One God and of immortality; who first discovered that the only true basis on which to group mankind is the ethical, and that the only two groups into which they should be divided are the true men and the anti-social, or criminals. Perhaps our greatest debt to him is that he started that great culture of the love of the truth and of the sense of honor which is of ever-increasing importance in the world to-day.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXCLUSIVE NATIONAL GROUP

I. MANA AND THE MORAL IDEAL

WHAT Akhnaton of Egypt failed to do, namely, to constitute a monopoly of religious belief and worship, and to put a taboo on all other beliefs and gods, was successfully accomplished by a race which, by that achievement, gained the religious leadership of the world. It was done by the method Akhnaton neglected, the establishment of an elaborate and carefully developed system of emotional culture.

Among the Egyptians and Semites religion had been used chiefly as a means to unite men by cultivating the unifying emotions. They had not shared in the great revelation given to the Aryan race through Zoroaster, and the question of the truth or falsehood of a religion, or of its moral values, had not been considered. Every group had certain standards, and those who did not conform to them were excluded. Religion had been used to maintain a hostile attitude toward those objects or persons who were considered harmful to the group, and to this extent it cultivated the divisive emotions of fear and horror and hate. The people of Israel differed from all others in that they were brought to feel that nothing was so harmful to them as the worship of any other god than their own, or the belief in any religious statements other than those included in the books of the law and the prophets. It therefore became a function of their religion to cultivate a horror of all other religions and beliefs. The Jews thus became a national exclusive group based on a monopoly of religious thought.

In the chapter dealing with the mana and miasma system it was stated that the value of this powerful emotional culture depended on its application. It was so powerful in effect that almost any kind of social order or character develop-

ment could be enforced by its use. Whether it should stimulate that which was finest and noblest in man and suppress that which was bestial and base, or whether, like the early culture of the Fiji Islands, it should approve cannibalism and brutality and check kindness and forgiveness, depended on the manner in which the tribal leaders directed it. They could use it to create reverence for any kind of man or act, and horror for any object or deed. Usually the objects and acts that were supposedly charged with miasma were only slightly harmful to the tribe if they were so at all, and often the ban was put upon deeds that would have been distinctly helpful.

The history of Israel is an illustration of what this culture can produce when rightly directed. This nation had as its leaders a succession of men who took the old unethical mana and miasma system and succeeded in applying it to character and conduct. At first the culture of Israel probably differed but little from that of the Canaanite tribes around them. Mention has already been made of the long lists given in *Leviticus* of the various kinds of food and clothing that were banned, and of the various circumstances that subjected a person to the contagion of evil and rendered him unclean. The emotion of horror for these objects was cultivated by the usual method of treating the unclean man as the bearer of a terrible contagion until he had been purified by elaborate rites. Reverence for the mana was cultivated by means of the usual barriers erected between the people and their god. The man who touched his ark or who brought unconsecrated fire into his courts expected instant death. The unification culture was the same as that already described. By bringing their offerings to the tribal god, and by sharing their food with him, they renewed their sense of unity with him, and acquired his favor, or mana. No flesh could be eaten that had not first been sacrificed to the god. The early accounts describe the tribal god as a deified man, who visited and ate with Abraham and wrestled with Jacob. He was thought of at times as similar to the Canaanite gods or Baals, and, like their neighbors, the people of Israel wor-

shipped him in the form of a bull or calf at Sinai and Bethel.

It was this primitive culture that the great prophets, beginning with Moses and followed by Elijah, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, transformed into a tremendous dynamic for the moral advancement of the race. By the mana system the Egyptians had caused the people to revere and worship bulls, cats, jackals, beetles, and all manner of unworthy and insignificant objects, which served merely as a centre for the tribal unification culture.

The first prophets attempted an amazing thing. They put at the centre of the mana culture something that deserved the worship and reverence of mankind for all times. Men were forbidden to picture the God of Israel in human form, or in the likeness of any living thing. While he was still to be thought of as the father of all the people of Israel, and their protector and defender, he was also, in his nature, the embodiment of the moral law. In the Holy of Holies, which was his shrine, was no image, but only the tablet on which this law was inscribed. The story of the promulgation of the law in the thunder and lightning of Mount Sinai was calculated to produce the utmost reverence for it as the true expression of the divine mana. This was a most astounding thing to attempt. The prophets sought to replace the old tribal hero god, who had sometimes been pictured in human form and sometimes in the form of a bull, by a God who was really the spirit of morality and who was presented to the people in no form but that of a code inscribed on a stone. The mana system had often produced reverence for a stone, as in the case of the Black Stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, but the prophets raised the culture to a higher power when they made it operate for an inscription on a stone, and, still more, for an invisible God represented only by an inscription. If the god they presented was an embodiment of the moral law, it followed that mana, which meant, as usual, power to conquer their enemies and the assurance of prosperity of all kinds, could not be gained without obedience to that law. A natural sequence was that all acts against the code should

be regarded as infecting a man with miasma and as exposing him, and all connected with him, to the destructive forces of evil, disease, death, famine, and pestilence.

2. UNITY BASED ON A STANDARD OF CHARACTER

It was here that the prophets accomplished their great work for mankind. The old system was, in the main, unethical and did not put its ban on all acts that were unjust and injurious to the community. Even where it did do this, it was possible for a man of wealth, after plundering the poor, to escape punishment and regain mana by bringing offerings to the god. If unjust men kept up the old unification culture of sacrifice, they were still felt to be a part of the tribe. The prophets had the vision of a higher type of unity, in which men were bound together by relations of love and trust. These could not exist while there was injustice and falsehood and cruelty, and to continue the old forms of tribal unification under these circumstances was to them a mockery. They proclaimed that offerings and sacrifices in themselves were utterly vain, and that the mana, or help of God, could only be obtained by righteousness and justice. It was injustice and deceit and cruelty that brought upon the individual, and upon the nation, the miasma, now conceived of as the wrath and punishment of God. It is sometimes thought that the important feature contributed by the prophets was the idea of a God of love. But nearly every nation believed that its god viewed them with the favor and love of a father. The Hebrew prophets maintained that their God would not so view them unless they lived up to a moral standard. This was a tremendous step in advance, and it at once set Israel apart from all other nations. It amounted to making a certain standard of character the chief essential in tribal membership. They could not claim, as did other tribes, that merely because of their relationship to their god he was bound to help them. In fact, the prophets asserted that just because he was their family god he would punish them the more severely for disregarding his will, which, as

his children, they should have known. The unification was not enough; they must achieve a standard, or they would be cast off. So that while other tribes put the ban upon those who did not observe certain external tribal markings and customs, Israel was perhaps the first to insist that, in addition to such externals as circumcision, their members should maintain a definite moral character or be under the curse. A list of terrible disasters that would fall upon the disobedient was proclaimed to the people, and they were even taught that the destruction of the nation would follow if they refused to conform.

3. THE COVENANT GOD

It seems hardly probable that the prophets could have produced this amazing result if their God Yahwe had been a tribal god of the usual ancestral type, bound to them by ties of blood. Certain scholars incline to the view that Yahwe was the tribal god of the Kenites of Mount Sinai, and that he was presented to Israel by Moses as a sort of adopted father, who was then identified with their ancient God El Shaddai. There was, however, a difference in the relation, which was vital. It is expressed in the familiar statement that Yahwe was a covenant God. In other words, the real reason that he was their God was not because of blood-relationship, but because of a definite agreement. If they kept this agreement, the first form of which is probably that of *Exodus 34*, he promised to aid them in their escape from the Egyptians and in their conquest of surrounding tribes. If they broke the agreement, he then visited his wrath upon them. This idea of a covenant God, instead of a god who was bound to help his people by obligation of blood-relationship, was probably a new one in the world and gave the prophets a tremendous leverage. The original covenant was largely ceremonial in character and seems to imply that Yahwe was at first similar to the other Semitic gods, since the covenant demands ceremonials relating to the fertility of the earth. The people are described as being familiar with the rites of

the mother goddess, and were prone to relapse into them, as in the orgy at Sinai. The important element was that there was a covenant, however crude.

As the vision of the prophets increased, they could put into it more and more of a moral content and eliminate increasingly the Baal and Ishtar forms of worship. We find frequent allusion to the practice of these Baal and Ashtoreth rites by both people and kings, until the time of Josiah, when the ancient local sanctuaries where these rites were practised were closed, and the worship of Yahwe was centralized at Jerusalem. The new moral code of *Deuteronomy* was then introduced, and the covenant was raised to its full ethical value.

It has been shown that Israel differed from other nations in that in addition to blood-relationship a certain ethical standard was required for tribal membership. The method of cultivating the sense of unity was similar to that of the surrounding nations, save that the god was symbolized not by a statue but by the mercy-seat and the tables of the law. Offerings were brought, and there were the usual ceremonies of tribal unification.

The unusual demands of the covenant, which was frequently broken both by individuals and by the nation, put a special emphasis upon the ceremonials of atonement. If the covenant had been strictly enforced, Yahwe would not long have remained the God of Israel. The ceremonials of atonement existed to propitiate him when his wrath was aroused because of the breach of contract, and when he threatened to destroy or abandon them.

A lamb without blemish was made to take the place of the individual offender, and the scapegoat took the sins of the nation upon his devoted head. Thus, in spite of repeated infractions, the force of the moral taboo remained, and the people preserved their sense of unity with their God, which would have been interrupted if the emotion of remorse, which the broken taboo always aroused, had been allowed to continue.

4. THE CULTIVATION OF REVERENCE FOR RULERS

When we consider the method by which the people were united for action, we find a tradition that at first they were under certain chiefs or judges, who claimed to be directly inspired by the spirit of Yahwe. This method was closely similar to that of the South Sea Islands, where there is no dramatization of a patriarchal god and where the chief gained his authority from inspiration by a spirit. It may be that we have here the history of the method by which a sense of patriarchal authority was developed in a matriarchal tribe, though little evidence of the matriarchate exists in Israel.

When finally the kingship was instituted, it was by the appointment of the inspired prophet that the king was selected. The reverence of the people was transferred from the prophet to the king by the ceremonial of the anointing. A conflict of authority naturally arose between the prophet and the king, which was ultimately settled in the king's favor. The usual patriarchal system was then adopted, and the king was able to appoint priests who indorsed him as the Lord's anointed, and who maintained the culture of reverence for him. There was, however, this difference from the surrounding nations. The king never was recognized as divine by nature, like those of Egypt and Babylon, though the hope was held out that some day Israel might have a king who would be a son of God. In the meantime, the kings were not above the law, nor were they the creators of the taboo, as elsewhere. They were subject to it, and were threatened by the prophets when they disregarded it. Though the prophet did not have powers of excommunication similar to those possessed later by the pope, he could sufficiently threaten the king's prestige to become a very valuable check upon him, which prevented that abuse of absolute power which characterized the surrounding potentates. The conflict of these two ideas of kingship is depicted in the story in *2nd Kings*, where Jezebel mocks Ahab because he feels the check of the prophetic supervision.

The people of Israel were fortunate in not having, like other nations, a king who was a son of God. Before considering the later history of Israel, we must turn back to consider the feature which is most notable in their national development.

5. PREJUDICE AS A PROTECTIVE CARAPACE

The attempt to make a standard of character the criterion for tribal membership and to associate mana with perfection in morals involved a culture which was to differentiate Israel from the surrounding nations. In the other tribes the important thing in their religion was the unification culture. They were held together under the control of their rulers by the worship of the tribal god, who might be presented to them as a cat or a jackal, a thief or an adulterer, if only he commanded their awe and obedience. But with the new God of Israel the essential thing was his moral character, and if the people continued to worship gods who were unmoral, the effect of the culture would be destroyed, since a man can hardly revere holiness and immorality at the same time. It was, therefore, necessary to erect a barrier between Israel and all gods save their own.

Other peoples, while they had a religion and gods of their own, felt apparently that the gods of other nations were the proper divinities for these peoples to worship, and when in a strange land, as a matter of courtesy as well as of safety, they worshipped the god who presided over the land. Their gods could exist amicably with the gods of other races, and if they could be made to feel that these gods were the same as their own, though under different names, amalgamation was always possible. With the Jews it must be otherwise. They were taught that their God would endure no other gods before him, that he was a jealous God, and that all other gods were either false or evil. In other words, with them other religions and gods than their own were miasmatic, and infected them with evil. If the people with whom they were living on friendly terms were found to worship other gods than Jehovah, they then received the command: "Come

ye out from among them and be ye separate." The reason for this is evident when one considers the nature of the usual Semitic worship of the mother goddess.

The culture of the miasma was concentrated upon idolatry as the direst and most destructive of all evils until it came to be regarded with a greater horror than was felt for any other deed. Other gods were regarded as demons and devils, while the people of Israel came to regard their own God more and more as the only true God.

It was not enough to direct the miasma against other gods and religions. It is a much more difficult matter to unite men when the basis of unity is a standard of character than when it is merely a question of creating a sense of unity. The former means that all who will not or cannot accept the standard must be excluded. If the standard is to be kept inviolable, it also means that the group must be kept separate from all other groups. If the group is fratriarchal in character and free to form and modify its standards, it is not difficult to unify the group with others of a similar character by mutual concessions. But the system of the Jewish people was distinctly patriarchal. Their standard was said to have been given them complete, directly from the hand of God. Obedience to it was to be rewarded by the greatest blessings, and disobedience was threatened with the most terrible curses. The standard, therefore, could not be modified to suit the opinion or requirements of other groups, in order to include them in the unity of the nation. If they mingled with other groups by marriage, or accepted their customs and gods as of equal value, it was certain that their standard would be modified, if not destroyed. All these reasons for keeping separate might have been explained to the people, and they would still have had no strength to resist the influence of the nations around them. An appeal to the intelligence avails little with the mass of mankind even today, and at that time merely to exhort or command would have been futile, indeed.

It was here again that emotional culture was brought into

play. Most primitive tribes regard strange persons and strange things as infected with miasma. The leaders of Israel intensified this culture a hundredfold. Captured kings of other nations or priests of other gods were not treated as fellow men, but as poisonous reptiles, and were "hewn in pieces before the Lord." Captured flocks and herds and possessions were not divided as spoil, but utterly destroyed, as if infected with pestilence. Those who married foreigners were mercilessly cut off. The touch of a foreigner was more defiling than any filth, and elaborate purification was necessary before one thus infected could be received by his friends. A feeling of horror was thus created for all outsiders who did not conform to their standards.

Thus was built up slowly and with difficulty that protective carapace which we call prejudice, which kept them separate, and preserved their standard of morals and their lofty ideas of their God from contamination and modification. It is well to recognize that this is an essential part of the exclusive patriarchal system. Without it the great ideas and standards of the Jewish nation might well have been lost to the world. We will show later how those of their race who were unaffected by this culture were swallowed up by the amalgamation culture of another nation. Only the little group that had erected around themselves this protective barrier of prejudice remained unchanged, to bring to bear the power of their ideals upon the destiny of the world.

6. A NATION OF PRIESTS

As already noted, such a divisive emotional culture had been developed in other nations to keep separate the priestly class from the rest of the people. All manner of ceremonies of purification were imposed upon them if they came in contact with the common things of life. In this way a feeling of defilement was built up in them in connection with any such contacts, which tended to keep them separate. This is one of the easiest emotions to use in developing a wall of

prejudice, and it is employed even to-day. Children are still taught that their souls are defiled or blackened by entering the church of another sect, and the feeling of abhorrence that is thus developed is that which keeps them within their own fold. It was apparently from the priests that this culture was taken over by the Israelites, for repeatedly they are told that they are to be a "nation of priests." This made clear to them that as a nation they were to adopt the same divisive culture that they had seen applied to priests. They were possessed of mana, and must, therefore, keep from contagion. They were also told that they were consecrated to a special mission, a "chosen people," and, therefore, set apart from the rest of the world. It can hardly be doubted that but for this carefully cultivated wall of prejudice the Israelites could never have preserved the priceless heritage that they have handed down through the ages and given to the world.

It undoubtedly took many centuries to perfect this culture. The Old Testament narrative shows that there was an element among the people who held the views of the surrounding nations, and still conceived of their God as similar to the Baalim, or gods of the Syrian tribes around them. When their kings married foreign princesses such as Jezebel, the people were willing to worship the gods she introduced as well as their own, and there are indications that Solomon made some effort to amalgamate with his own God the gods of the tribes he conquered. The faction of the priests and rulers, who were later called the Sadducees, like the priests of other tribes, regarded the unification culture of ceremonials and offerings as the important part of religion, and apparently had no wish to keep separate from other nations. The prophetic party succeeded in the end, however, in creating a unified nation, separated from all other nations and religions by an impassable wall of prejudice. Behind that wall was sheltered an entirely new conception of religion and one which was destined to prevail. It was, that religion was not primarily a tribal unification culture of reverence for an ancestral god, but the cul-

ture of a standard of character as a basis of group unity, and the worship of a god, who, since he embodied the ideal standard of character, must be regarded as the only true God. This transformed religion from a device to secure unity into a culture of character and a worship of truth and of the supreme ideal. It, therefore, became directly connected with morals on the one hand and with truth on the other. It was Zoroaster who probably first taught that truth and morals were essential in religion, but among the Semites it was Israel that prepared the way for that modern attitude which asks of a religion first: "Is it true?" and second: "Does it produce virtue?"

There would seem to be only progress and gain to the world in such a religion. Unfortunately, the Jewish idea contained within itself certain destructive germs which were not found in Zoroastrianism, and which were destined to play havoc with civilization. Such a group based on a clearly outlined and unchangeable standard of character, and worshipping a God who is defined as the only God, cannot unite with any other groups unless they adopt its standard and belief *in toto*. The loyalty of the group to its standard could be maintained only by a culture of prejudice toward all other groups. This culture produced a horror of all beliefs and standards other than its own. The whole system centred on training men to feel that they held the only true belief and standard, and that any one holding any other belief was exposed to wrath and destruction. If all the world could be brought into one group this system would not necessarily have produced disaster. But when there came to be several groups, each claiming that it held a monopoly of truth and virtue, religion was transformed from the great unifying culture of the world to one of the most disruptive forces ever brought to bear on civilization. In later chapters we shall trace the influence of this culture of the Jews upon Christianity and Western civilization. At first, however, this divisive culture was of undoubted advantage to the nation and to the whole world.

7. ISRAEL IN CAPTIVITY

The method by which Assyria reduced conquered tribes to unity was by transferring them from their original dwelling, which was regarded as the estate of their god, and placing them upon the land of some other god, whose worship they were obliged to learn, or face destruction at his hands. This was the attitude of the tribes who replaced Israel in Samaria, and who demanded to know the fashion of the god of the place, lest he should destroy them.

When the Jews were removed from Jerusalem and placed in the cities of Babylonia, it was supposed that they would adopt the gods of the country and thus become merged with the people of the empire. Exactly the opposite effect was produced. Their nation was unified on the basis of a standard of character and of belief, which was not to be abandoned for any material considerations. When their conquerors or their neighbors attempted to unify them by amalgamating their God with those of another nation in the usual fashion, the prophets of Israel saw, as stated above, that this meant the loss of their God and of their ideals. They had already seen that intermarriage or even mingling with other nations would gradually result in making their God only one more in the family of the Baalim, or gods of Syria, and had availed themselves of the culture of prejudice to keep their nation from any admixture with other nations or tribes. During their captivity in Babylon the taboo against strange gods and their worshippers was applied with double severity. In their case the emotional culture of religion was used with a purpose exactly opposite to that which directed it in Egypt, namely, to keep men separate instead of to unite them. During their long captivity, by refusing to bow to the gods of Babylon or Persia, and by maintaining the worship of their own God, the people of Jerusalem kept their national identity, and still keep it to this day; while the other conquered nations, even including the other ten tribes of Israel, who had not been so well trained in the culture of prejudice, took up the wor-

ship of the gods of Babylon and were merged indistinguishably in the empire. In attempting to move the people of Jerusalem away from their god and to put them under the patronage of a Babylonian god, Nebuchadnezzar merely forced them to the conclusion that their God was a universal God, present in Babylon as in Jerusalem and ruler over the gods of all nations. The usual argument that the gods of Assyria or Babylon were greater because they had conquered was met by the prophets with the calm assertion that their God was directing the Assyrians, and was using them to chastise Israel for its sin in worshipping other gods, and the barrier was thus intensified between them and other nations. The captivity in Babylon, therefore, resulted in increasing the divisive culture which kept Israel apart from the world, and preserved her moral standard and ethical God.

8. THE INFLUENCE OF PERSIA ON ISRAEL

When the Persians conquered Babylon a new condition arose. The second Isaiah recognized Cyrus as the Lord's anointed, and perhaps identified Ahura Mazda with Yahwe. In the chapter on Persia we have described how Zoroaster introduced the worship of an ethical god, who resembled Yahwe in that he was the embodiment of the moral ideal. There were certain differences in the two religions. In spite of the temporary power of Ahriman, the Persian religion was distinctly monotheistic, while Israel had recognized other gods whom it was forbidden to worship, but whose power was generally admitted. Ahura Mazda was essentially the god of truth and of honor, while Yahwe is described as frequently deceiving men by false messages, and as repenting and changing his mind when his word had once been given, which would have been impossible in the Persian conception of God.

The second and greatest difference lay in this, that Israel was an exclusive group in a sense which did not apply to the Persians. This was due to the fact that Zoroaster applied his group division to the whole creation, distinguishing between the ethical and the antisocial, while Israel remained

a distinct racial group. Zoroaster's conception was the stupendous idea of a group of all the social forces of the world united in the worship of the highest ideal, while Israel remained the usual group united by blood-relationship, though with the extra requirement of an ethical code put upon it by a covenant God. It remained hedged in by the old racial ceremonial taboos, although these taboos had been given an ethical function.

Zoroaster had neglected the use of the exclusive miasma culture. It is difficult to keep truth aseptic. Polluting germs seem to creep in, unless there is a very powerful protective culture of prejudice. The fact that the Persian religion was so free from prejudice may be the reason that it became so readily contaminated by Magian and pagan ideas.

A third difference was that instead of using the miasma culture to enforce his moral laws, Zoroaster had brought in the revelation of the future life and judgment, and had rested chiefly upon that to create reverence for them. Israel, on the other hand, was kept from disobedience by the threat of the miasma in the form of immediate evils: droughts and pestilence and famine and storm and pests, which would descend upon the people whenever a law was broken. Many scholars consider that when the Jews were freed from captivity by Cyrus, and returned to Jerusalem, they brought back with them many of the ideas of Zoroaster. The belief in immortality was not held before the captivity, and in the time of Christ the Sadducees still regarded it as a foreign notion.

The Jews may readily have adopted the idea of immortality from the Persians, together with that of a more absolute monotheism. Their conception of God may also have been elevated by contact with the god of truth, professed by Cyrus and Darius. There was no modification of the barrier of national and religious prejudice which had been built to such unique proportions to defend them from the corruptions of Babylon. Rather was this enlarged, and their leaders and prophets after the restoration emphasized increasingly the ceremonial side of religion until morality

became insignificant compared to ritual and worship and regulations about food and the washing of hands and the Sabbath taboo.

They came at length under the rule of the Asmonean Dynasty of priest-kings, who combined the authority of religion and of the state in their person, and who seem to have been saluted, like other Eastern potentates, as the sons of God.

Israel, who had built around herself an impenetrable wall to defend her priceless treasure, the revelation of a God who was the spirit of morality and of an ethical standard as an essential group requirement, in these latter days became so absorbed in building her walls ever higher and thicker that the treasure within was well-nigh forgotten and seemed to slip from her hands. We see her in the time of Christ adding one ceremonial to another to exclude outsiders from the sacred precincts of her temple, and not seeming to understand that from its shrine the golden mercy-seat and the tables of the law had long been stolen.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CIVILIZATION OF CHINA. THE CULTIVATION OF BEHAVIOR

INTRODUCTION

WE have been studying the means by which were unified the nations from which our Occidental civilization was derived and the manner in which emotional cultures were used for this purpose. It might be expected that the people of the Orient in their independent development would have discovered other methods for uniting men into groups and groups into nations. When we turn to China, we find that the same principles hold that we have noted in the Occident, but that they were applied in quite a different fashion. There are several points in the ancient system of that country that deserve careful consideration. The first point to consider is that the power of an emotional culture can be greatly increased if it is reinforced by a philosophy which aims definitely and intelligently to cultivate certain emotions. The second interesting feature concerns the manner in which the Chinese emperors dealt with the very coherent local groups which grew up as a result of the ancestral culture. The ancestors of the group had not developed into definite gods, and the groups could not be combined into a nation by the method of amalgamation of gods, which was used in consolidating the empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia. These Chinese groups were so self-sufficient and independent of one another that, in order to unite them, it was necessary to break down in part the original system and superimpose upon it another culture of a different type. A third matter deserving special study is the means by which an emotion of great social value, namely, the sense of responsibility, was developed in the various communities. This emotional attitude is of such importance to us to-day

that the Chinese method of cultivating it deserves attention.

Another interesting line of investigation concerns the manner in which the great universal religions, or unifying cultures of other nations, acted upon the Chinese system, since this affects the question as to whether any of them can be used as an ultimate solvent for the systems of all nations. Finally, it is important to note the beginnings of the cultivation of that sense of honor which must ultimately be the basis of all successful democracies. In the succeeding sections these matters will be considered seriatim.

I. ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

In nearly all countries and tribes that made use of the patriarchal system of unification the worship of ancestors seems to have developed spontaneously and unconsciously. China differs from other nations in that this ancestral culture seems to have been introduced there as a definite philosophy of social life, and to have been intelligently and purposefully adapted to the needs of the people. Instead of growing wild, it was manufactured. Their great thinkers teach that social order is dependent upon cultivating a sense of unity with one's ancestors and a reverence for them.

From this premise the Chinese teachers went forward to an analysis of the relationships by which the social order was held together, of which the most important were the relationships of the family. The genius of the Chinese showed itself in a clear appreciation of the fact that these bonds were of no social value save as they were emotionalized. The next natural step was to determine the kind of emotion appropriate to each relationship and the amount of emotion which is needed to enable each such bond to endure the strain put upon it. In short, they saw that a science of social mechanics and dynamics was essential as a preliminary to social architecture. In building the social edifice, the central pillar was the father of the family. The substructure consisted of the various relationships connecting him with the different individuals of the group. The

Chinese calculated the weight that would rest upon each such beam, and attempted to provide for it. They knew that the strength of the beam depended on its emotional charge. It is difficult to build a house on beams constructed of pure emotion, for that substance is most variable and changeable. The best they could do was to build a framework of behavior or ceremonial, which expressed the quality of emotion appropriate to each relationship and the quantity of emotion necessary to enable the relationship to bear the social strain put upon it. The thesis, of course, was that the action and forms that express the emotion keep it alive. The Chinese, therefore, attempted to construct their beams to sustain the social order from ceremonials which would create and maintain the requisite amount of emotion for each relationship. The degree of ceremonial was proportioned to the connection by inheritance. The greatest reverence was to be shown to the father, and much less was required for the cousin. It is definitely prescribed how each member shall greet each other member of the family, what obeisance shall be rendered, and where each shall stand or sit in reference to the post of honor. The amount of respect due is indicated, for example, in such matters as mourning for the dead, where the length of the period, the costume to be worn, and the various acts to be performed are minutely prescribed for every relationship down to that of second cousin. The system is due chiefly to the teaching of Confucius and Mencius.

The worship of ancestors was taught in the *Shu King* as far back as 2000 B. C., but Confucius reduced it to a definite system of ceremonial ethics. He defined the emotions essential to the relationship of father and son and the manner in which they must be cultivated. Reverence must be shown to parents at all times; the desire to give them pleasure must express itself in giving them food. When they are ill, the son must feel and show anxiety; in case of death, he must express sorrow; in sacrificing to the spirits of his ancestors, he must show awe. Mencius also saw that it is by these definite relationships that men are held together and

enabled to co-operate, and thus to make civilization possible. He, therefore, taught that the basis of ethics and the sum of all duties was in maintaining a right attitude in the relationships which hold the group together, and which he defined as follows: father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, old and young, friend and friend.

The father is the head of the family, and as the children marry at an early age, there are often four or five generations and from ten to fourteen younger groups living under his roof and control. The first and most important lesson that is taught each child is that of reverence for his parents. Each boy is given a series of illustrated stories, which teach the duties of obedience and devotion to his father. One of these illustrations is of a certain famous boy who lay naked on his father's bed and suffered all the mosquitoes in the room to draw his blood, so that when his father sought sleep they would be replete and unable to disturb him.

Chinese teachers not only indicated the right emotional attitude for each relationship but, as above stated, they prescribed the ceremonial or etiquette through which these emotions should be cultivated and maintained, so that the whole of Chinese life is a continuous ceremony.

As elsewhere, religion furnished the chief culture for supplying the requisite emotion. It is by religion that the relationships of the clan are dramatized and emotionalized. Each village is usually composed of one clan, and has its ancestral hall, where the tablet of the common ancestor is set up. On either side are the tablets of such of his descendants as have founded prominent groups in the clan. Sometimes all the ancestors of each family are represented in their proper subordinate position. This hall dramatizes the original home of the clan. At certain seasons festivals are held in which the whole clan assembles and brings offerings and does homage to the spirits of its ancestors, and especially to the common ancestor of all. It is evident that such a ceremonial must create a sense of the unity of the clan. Each clan has its own laws and customs, which give it its individuality and also help to create its sense of unity, since

those who disregard them are excluded. The various family groups select elders, who enforce the clan rules, and see that they are posted in the ancestral hall. In large clans there are also subordinate ancestral halls, where the heads of various groups are worshipped separately, and in addition to the ceremonies at the central hall.

By constant ceremonials the individual is forced to feel that he is only a segment of a group. He is taught that his life has no individual importance, and must be sacrificed to the group whenever it is necessary. It is for the good fame and prosperity of the group that he must work and not for his own. Likewise, he must keep all members of the group from wrong-doing, for he is a part of them and responsible for their deeds. The old law provided that the whole group might be put to death for the treason of one member. Property, too, is owned by the group, and the family property is controlled by the father. The individual does not own the land which he tills, but rents it from the village on a three-year term.

So powerful was the culture which China provided to counteract the selfish instincts of the primitive man, and to hold him firmly to that co-operation with other men which is the first essential of civilization. It was necessary in the primitive clan almost to destroy the sense of individuality, and to cause a man to feel that he had no existence apart from his fellows. China has transformed the whole of life into a ceremonial, designed to express the emotions which are essential to the group, and thus to cultivate them.

The difficulty in such a system is to prevent such constant ceremonials from becoming a superficial crust of formality, underneath which the feelings of jealousy, malice, and hate glow the more fiercely for their suppression, and which at last deadens all sincere feeling. Something more than the mere dramatization of attitudes is needed to kindle the right emotion, and we shall see that the Japanese were more successful with their emotional cultures, which did not seem to have the same deadening effect as those of the Chinese.

2. THE PROBLEM OF CREATING A NATION WITHOUT THE AID OF THE GODS

It is probable that Confucius sought to found his system entirely upon the relationships of human life and to ignore the supernatural. The common origin of the clan was dramatized as an historic fact, and reverence was cultivated for a man who had once lived. It is doubtful if Confucius believed in immortality or in personal gods. At any rate, he apparently sought to make his system independent of these beliefs. The remote ancestor does not appear as a god whose mana protects the tribe and whose wrath punishes the delinquent. China, therefore, lost the great emotional drive, which comes from belief in the gods and a sense of the unseen, which was utilized by Japan with such notable effect.

A second result of the elimination of gods was that the ruler of the tribe could not be presented as the representative of the gods. Men must be taught to revere him simply as the present head of the family, which is much more difficult.

A third result was that it was impossible to unite the tribes into a nation by the amalgamation of their gods. The national unity depended simply upon alliances between the tribal leaders, and this method could not create any real sense of national unity.

It is probable that the early feudal system of China, which was overthrown in 225 B. C. by the Ts'in Dynasty, was an expansion of the family system described above. The feudal lord was the head of the clan. He had his own temple, where all his people met to worship. Possibly his tablet was worshipped along with those of their ancestors. The feudal lords seem to have been quite independent of one another, and continual wars and feuds, plunder and devastation were the result. When the first Ts'in emperor established his rule and attempted to set up a centralized government and a new type of national unity, he was bitterly resisted by this old clan culture, which had developed its

forms and ceremonies and embodied them in literature. The opposition was so powerful that in an effort to conquer it the emperor gave orders to destroy all the literature of the past and all the teaching of the ages. It was a most astonishing attempt to root out the emotional culture of 2,000 years in order to create one of a new and different type.

What the emperor desired was to break up the rebellious feudal groups and establish a centralized administration which would unify the whole nation under a hierarchy of officials appointed by the throne. No one but a man of dauntless energy and ability would have ventured such an attempt—to overthrow the whole system of thought and emotion on which the civilization of his nation was built. It is said that he was rendered desperate by the static strength of the old system, which stood like a rock against all efforts to modify it and adapt it to the exigencies of the age. In material things it is easier to destroy than to construct, but in dealing with the feelings and thoughts of a nation it is well-nigh impossible to destroy in a moment the emotional culture of centuries, and the emperor who could plan the construction of that gigantic wall 1,800 miles in length, which all the savage attacks of the Tartars through twenty centuries could not destroy, and which we look upon to-day as one of the wonders of the world—that same man of irresistible will could not destroy the wall of custom reared by his predecessors. His dynasty went down before it, and the old teaching returned under the rule of the Hans. The emperor did superimpose upon the old system, however, another culture that remained through the centuries. The ancestral worship returned and the old classics were dug out from their hiding-places and re-established, but the feudal system was overturned forever. In place of it was instituted the administrative system that has lasted until recent days, and which has been used by all the great emperors ever since. Over each province the emperor appointed a viceroy, and with him were also appointed a governor, a judge, and a treasurer. No effort was made to create a sense of unity between the people of the different

provinces or between the people and the central government save through the four officials at their head. The provinces were divided into administrative circuits, each under a *taotai*. These again were divided into *fu* or prefectures, each under an official known as the *chi fu*. The *fu* was divided into two or more subprefectures known as *hien* or *yuen*, at the head of each of which was a magistrate or *chi hien*. This official was the only representative of the emperor who came in direct contact with the people. He was judge of both civil and criminal cases, coroner, sheriff, mayor, and tax-collector, and was held responsible for the public welfare. Since none of these officials could be presented as the representative of a local god, it was necessary to secure the obedience of the people in another way. This was done in part by the ceremonial which emotionalized the relationship of ruler and subject in accordance with the system of Mencius. In addition, there was an attempt to dramatize the relation of the *chi hien* to the people of his district and to present him in the guise of a parent, who thus would command both reverence and affection. His common title was "father and mother official," which indicates the position he was designed to hold in the patriarchal system. He represented the emperor in the guise of father and mother of the district, having the authority of a father and the care of a mother for the people of that section.

3. THE EMOTIONAL CULTURE OF THE STATE

To create any sense of unity and of devotion and loyalty to their ruler in a group of officials, who were appointed on the basis of their intellectual qualifications, necessarily required an emotional culture of a totally different type from those hitherto in use among men, all of which had been based on the idea of family relationship. The emperor could not appeal to any synthesis of clan gods as a source of prestige and as the basis of a culture of reverence for his commands. He turned, therefore, to an ancient tradition concerning a god who was the universal father of all living things and

who might serve as the basis of a culture of reverence among men of intellect and education who were capable of understanding the idea and of feeling its power. The most ancient books of the classics, the *Shu King*, or book of records, which dates from 2357 B. C., and the *Shih King*, or book of odes, dating from 1719 B. C., speak of a supreme god under the name of Tien, Heaven, or Shang Ti, ruler or father. Of Ti, or Shang Ti, it is written in the *Shih King* that "he exalts kings for the good of the people; when the people fulfil their duties in his fear, he smells the savor of their offerings and blesses them with abundance. When they disobey, he punishes. He is responsible for evil and disaster in the state, for Heaven is unpitiful. He gives birth to the multitudes and supplies all with a good nature, which few are able to retain." In short, he is the usual "father" god of the patriarchal type. All are united to him because he gives them birth. All must revere and obey him and his laws. This god, Shang Ti, seems to have been identified with Tien, or Heaven. The village ancestral culture apparently did not include this first father of all, but the idea of such a father was in the background, and was understood at least by men of education. It was this which the emperor made the basis of the culture of national unity by superimposing the new culture on the old ancestral culture of the clans.

When this god was once established, the emperor was presented as the son of Heaven and as the representative of the god in the usual patriarchal fashion. There arose, therefore, a special imperial religion. It was the peculiar function of the emperor to worship at the Temple of Heaven, whence he derived his authority. After the twelfth century his worship was directed to both Heaven and Earth, who were personified as the father and mother of all mankind. The god, Heaven, was regarded as the source of authority over the people, while the goddess, Earth, was the source of all motherly affection and solicitude. The emperor, as son of Heaven and Earth, represented the authority of the one and the motherly care of the other. The sacrifice of the

emperor was simply the old unification drama, the sharing of food, and the expression of reverence and gratitude to a father. As the emperor had no contact with the people save through his officials, and there was no necessity to develop a sense of unity between the throne and the commoner, the masses did not take part in this ceremony. The imperial culture of the worship of Heaven and of the son of Heaven was used to create and maintain a sense of unity between all the officials and the emperor. All the officers in each section were compelled to assemble at least once in the year and to worship the emperor's tablet. This culture was designed to maintain a sense of unity, of loyalty, and of reverence in each officer toward his lord. It was similar to the Roman plan of unification by worship of the emperor, save that the Romans applied it to every citizen, while with the Chinese it was practised only by officials. The people of each section had their own local unification culture, and the emperor-worship was designed to hold the groups together by unifying the governors of them all in reverence for the throne. There still remained a hiatus in this system between the local group, with its ancestral worship, and the official group, which was held together by the emperor-worship. The connecting link between the two was the father-and-mother official, and he was changed frequently and came to the people as a stranger. As already suggested, the Confucian culture of reverence for rulers, in which every boy was trained, helped to cement this gap, and the close relation of this "father-and-mother" official to the daily needs of the people aided yet more. It probably would not have succeeded, however, without still another emotional culture.

4. THE VILLAGE TEMPLE. THE CULTURE CONNECTING CLAN AND STATE

There was a third form of culture in addition to those of the clan and of the emperor, which it was possible to use as a link between the two. This was the worship in the village temple. In some cases the whole village consisted of

one clan, but more often there were several of these. In such cases a god was worshipped at the village temple whose authority was recognized by all the clans. Sometimes it was an ancient local hero, now deified. Sometimes it was the god of rain, the god of literature, the god of valor, or some such deity. An annual festival was held and the people of all the clans shared in the unifying emotions of worship. The imperial official joined with the temple officers in directing the worship of the god of the village or district. In the larger districts the presiding god was often the god of some mountain or river which was a prominent feature in that country. The imperial official appeared as the representative of the local god and thus acquired a sanction for his authority in the usual patriarchal fashion. It seems strange that this village and district worship was not synthesized with the ancestral cults, as in other nations. It might then have had sufficient force to be used, by the amalgamation process, to unite the districts directly, without the imperial culture. Apparently it was too irregular and confused to lend itself to such a purpose.

The culture of the village temple was used not only to enforce obedience to the imperial official, it also supplied the emotional background for the local government, which was strangely fratriarchal in character. The temple officers are elected annually. The village is divided into sections, and two or three officers are chosen in rotation from each section, so that nearly every head of a family has his turn. The temple officers attend to the policing of the village and to its education; they repair the roads, and light the streets, and care for the health of the community. They also have judicial functions and settle disputes and try petty criminal cases, and they gain their authority as representatives of the god as well as of the people. The village is a self-governing unit, and it is only when it fails to administer its affairs successfully, or to keep its citizens from crime, or when it faces some disaster, that the higher official is called in.

We find, then, in China a curious combination—a general administration absolutely patriarchal and of the imperial-

istic type, and a local administration which is almost autonomous and semi-democratic. Its rulers have patriarchal authority through a patriarchal emotional culture, but they are selected from the heads of families, and the people have power to reject any candidate. As the clan is ruled by its elders, who regulate its customs and morals, so the village is ruled by the temple officers, who provide for its welfare and maintain its laws. It is singular that, although they have more authority than the old Anglo-Saxon council of elders, because they have the patriarchal culture behind them, they are, nevertheless, more democratic in the method of their selection, since they are an elective and not a permanent assembly, like the Roman senate or the witenagemot.

Thus a triplex system of emotional culture, far more complex than that of Egypt, was found necessary in China; the ancestral culture uniting the district, the culture uniting the district to its governor, and that uniting all the governors in the service of the empire. The emotional power of such a complex system was naturally much less effective than the method of Egypt, where each subject felt his unity with the king, and each nome was directly connected in feeling with all the other nomes, through its god. The result has been that China has never become a nation but merely a federation of districts which were ready to fall apart at any disturbance of the imperial culture.

5. GRADED RESPONSIBILITY

We have spoken of the system by which a sense of unity was created and maintained in each family group, and again in each group of families which constituted a clan. Together with this was cultivated another emotion of even greater importance to civilization. Each group was responsible for the actions of any one of its members and was liable to punishment for them, and the head of the group was considered its representative, and therefore responsible in a peculiar sense for its welfare and for its evil deeds. The whole system was so thoroughly organized that there was not an in-

dividual who did not have his definite place in society. There was some one to whom each person was responsible, and some one who was responsible for him. Most of the crime and degeneration of our present age is a result of the large number of detached individuals and families in our great cities who are unknown to their neighbors, and irresponsible, since there is no one who is responsible for them. In the patriarchal system every individual was theoretically responsible to the head of the nation. It would have amounted to little to have some millions responsible to one man. The efficacy of such a system depends on such an organized plan of graded group responsibility as was worked out in China, and which proved particularly effective there. At first the head of the clan was responsible for all the families in the clan, but later, as the clans broke up, their responsibility was replaced by an organized local responsibility.

In the towns and cities, for example, the clans are not as clearly marked as in the villages. The town is usually divided into sections of one hundred families, and one man is made responsible for each section. That, in turn, is separated into divisions of ten families each, for each of which a leader is responsible. The whole system, therefore, is one of graded responsibility. The family is the basis of it all. The father is supreme. He preserves the patriarchal culture of reverence by a strict etiquette through which its relationships are expressed, and settles all disputes within the family, and is responsible for all their misdeeds. The village elders and temple officials, or the town heads of sections, are responsible for all the families under them, and settle all disputes as far as possible without reference to the magistrate. They form an independent political unit. The father-and-mother official is responsible for all the villages or for the town in his subprefecture. If they are in trouble, he must gain aid for them. If they cannot settle their own disputes, he must interfere and assist. He must decide cases referred to him. In like manner, the four officials of the province are responsible for its welfare. Cases that cannot be handled by the

father-and-mother official are handed on to the provincial government. No more complete or effective arrangement for local self-government could probably be devised. Each group is supposed to manage its own affairs as far as possible. Only those matters which it cannot handle itself, or which it fails to manage justly, are passed on to the unit of authority above. If we had such a system of direct personal responsibility for every individual in our great cities, it is probable that crimes would at once decrease by more than half, and that criminals would soon cease to be a menace.

It is evident that this was a very complex and delicately adjusted emotional culture that could not be tampered with without disaster. The ancestral culture uniting each local group had great emotional force. That connecting the various large groups was feeble, and the imperial culture was weakest of all. The coherence of Chinese civilization really rested on the ancestral worship. The family groups were the blocks from which the empire was built, and when once in place, they were held by the system of responsibility. Every great emperor saw that the ancestral culture was basic in Chinese civilization. No religious system could be admitted which threatened it.

6. TAOISM AND THE ADDED SANCTION OF THE MIASMA CULTURE

The emotional culture of China is peculiar in that it seems to be a carefully-thought-out plan to emotionalize all the various relations that unify men, in such fashion as to produce the most effective type of patriarchal civilization. Other nations derived the chief power of their emotional cultures from the mana and miasma system, and its conception of a mysterious supernatural force, which lay in wait to punish the infraction of any taboo or law, by the infliction of terrible suffering or disaster. The Confucian religion seems to have neglected this culture, and it is possible that the sanctions of Chinese civilization would not have been adequate if this lack had not been supplied by two supplementary religions.

The first, Taoism, originated with the mystical philosophy of Lao-tsze, who lived in the sixth century B. C., and was a contemporary of Confucius. There was little of the miasma system in the original teaching of Lao-tsze, which advocated the surrender of the individual to the mysterious law and forces of the universe, which he called Tao. But his teaching that evil follows a bad act, as a man is followed by his shadow, formed a basis to which the old mana and miasma ideas, which Confucianism threatened to exclude, could attach themselves, and with this philosophic sanction there grew up a religion of magic and of spirit and demon worship which with its miasma culture reinforced all the old customs and traditions. The religion retains some suggestion of its origin. In the Taoist temple are worshipped the three Precious Ones, supposed to represent Chaos, Lao-tsze, and Shang Ti, or God. The living head of the religion is the Great Wizard, who lives on the Tiger Dragon Mountain, but the religion was not connected with the government, nor did the Wizard have any such control of morals and belief as that exercised by the pope. From Taoism gradually developed the elaborate system known as Fung Shui, which prescribes ceremonials of all kinds for avoiding various malign influences and which is now a dominant influence in preserving the customs of the lower classes. It also tends, like the usual miasma culture, to create an exclusive group and that attitude of prejudice toward foreigners which is expressed in the term "foreign devils" so frequently applied to them.

The social value of such an emotional culture as that of Taoism was twofold. In the first place, it created a certain sense of national solidarity by giving to all who followed its rites a horror of strangers or "foreign devils," together with the sense that all adherents of the religion shared in a certain favor of the gods or "good luck." In the second place, it gave an added sanction to law and custom by its teaching that those who disobeyed laws or who went counter to tradition were at once exposed to the malice of evil spirits or the punishment of the great gods.

7. THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL CULTURE TO THE UNIVERSAL RELIGIONS

The Chinese national culture also came in contact with several of the forms of world unification, whose origin will be considered in later chapters. This question of the relation of a national culture to one of the universal religions is a question of great importance, and the history of China supplies some valuable illustrations of the benefit and harm to be derived from such a relation. In the year 65 A. D. the Emperor Ming Ti imported Buddhism from India. This was not the simple ethical system of the Hinayana, which will be described later, but the elaborate mysticism and polytheism of the Mahayana. It spread rapidly, and by the fourth century became the chief religion of China. As practised, it closely resembled Taoism, since it also had its three precious ones, who were worshipped in the Buddhist temples. Neither of these religions conflicted in any way with the original system of ancestral worship on which the social order was based. Each recognized the gods taught by the others, and the people participated in the ceremonials of all three at appropriate crises or seasons.

For many centuries all strangers were admitted to China and all religions were permitted. The Jews first appeared about 200 B. C. ; the Mohammedans are said to have sent an embassy to China during the lifetime of Mohammed, and claim to have erected a mosque at that period, which is still standing. They certainly arrived very early, but they have never had any vital effect on Chinese civilization. It is otherwise with Christianity, which would probably have become the state religion of China, if it had adopted the policy of Buddhism and recognized the ancient ancestral worship, and identified its God with the god of the throne culture. The Nestorians came first and acquired great influence in the northwestern provinces. In 638 A. D. an edict of toleration was issued in their behalf. The Nestorian Stone with its noble statement of their beliefs is one of the most interesting landmarks of ancient China, and has created

such an impression that it is said to have been copied in several Buddhist monasteries. The Nestorians had become a powerful and numerous body by the time of the visit of Marco Polo. In 1300 A. D. the Franciscan Montecorvino had taken up his residence at the court of the Mongol emperor at Peking, and by the time of his death is said to have made some 300,000 converts to the Catholic faith. Under the Ming Dynasty, which expelled the Mongols, we find that Christians, both Nestorian and Catholic, were proscribed and forbidden the kingdom. Apparently this was not because of their religion, but because they had attached themselves to the Mongol Dynasty and were suspected of plotting against the Ming emperors. The cause for failure at this time was therefore political rather than religious.

In 1580 the Jesuit Ricci, by the use of craft, gained admittance to the empire and made a careful study of China and her customs. He did this to such good purpose that when he finally reached Peking, in 1601, he succeeded in interesting the Emperor Wan Lieh, and even converted his mother, wife, and son, who were baptized under the names of Helena, Maria, and Constantine. He also converted a prominent official, Su, and his daughter, who took the names of Paul and Candida. Candida built thirty-nine churches for Ricci and his converts, and published 130 Christian books in Chinese. The Empress Helena wrote to the pope, soliciting his blessing as his daughter in the faith, and there are those who hold that if the pope had sent a small army of Crusaders to aid Constantine, his son in the faith, and turn the tide against the Manchus, who were assailing the throne, China would have been a Christian empire to-day. The Manchus, however, won the day, and Constantine lost his throne, with the result that the Christians again came into disrepute. The difficulty once more was political. As a religion, Christianity had proved a success and had harmonized with the religion of China and supplemented it.

The success of Ricci was based on his recognition of the fact that the emotional culture of the Chinese was fundamental in their civilization. Instead of antagonizing it or

attempting to uproot it, he, therefore, endeavored to supplement and interpret it by Christian teaching. He sought to combine Christianity with the religions of China rather than to use it to overthrow them. Catholic Christianity had the most surprising resemblances to Chinese Buddhism. In a letter defending the policy of Ricci, Abbé Huc called attention to the fact that both religions made use of the cross, the mitre, and the dalmatica. Both had choirs and used a psalmody. Both practised exorcisms and used similar benedictions, fasts, litanies, and relics. Candles and bells and holy water had a part in the services of both. Both had masses for the dead. The monks of both practised celibacy, and both believed in expiation. The main difficulty came in connection with the state religion and the ancestor-worship. Ricci held that the Chinese god Tien, the Heaven, worshipped by the emperor as the father and ruler of the universe, was the one God of the Christians. He accepted the interpretation of the Chinese intellectuals that the minor gods of the Chinese were spirits, saints, and intercessors, acting for the one God, and were similar to those recognized by the Catholics. In Chinese belief the souls of the dead are not deified, and Ricci held that the ancestral ceremonials were not worship but a civil and social rite, expressive of reverence for the spirits of the departed. Christianity might have regained its influence under the Manchu Dynasty, when once it was established, had China not been invaded at this time by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were jealous of the Jesuit influence, and who took up, in opposition to them, a position of absolute intolerance toward the religion of China. They insisted that Tien was the material heaven and his worship was idolatry, and asserted that ancestors were regarded as gods and that such worship was idolatrous.

Ricci had been followed by two very able Jesuits, Schaal and Verbiest, whose knowledge of science and astronomy commended them to the great Manchu Emperor Kanghsi, who had overthrown the Ming Dynasty. The Jesuits secured a statement from him that Tien was the one true god, and that ancestral worship was a political rite. In spite of this

in 1645 Pope Innocent X launched a bull which supported the Dominicans and Franciscans. The pope declared the Chinese rites to be idolatrous and forbade any Christians to partake in them. Kanghsi, appreciating that the ancestral culture which was thus attacked was the basis of Chinese civilization, at once banished the Dominicans and Franciscans and their converts as subversive to the empire, just as the Roman emperors prohibited Christianity when it refused to conform to the imperial worship of Rome. In 1656 Pope Alexander VII reversed the decision of Innocent, but in 1704 Clement XI issued a still more positive bull, declaring that Tien and Shang Ti were neither of them the names of the true God, and that his worship and that of ancestors was idolatrous. Moreover, he sent a legate to inform the emperor of the fact. Kanghsi, who showed great wisdom and moderation, dissembled his astonishment at being informed that his statements were false and that he was ignorant of his own religion. He courteously sent the legate away and continued to favor the Jesuits. Upon this, the pope sent a second legate to excommunicate the Jesuits and all missionaries and converts who practised the Chinese rites. Kanghsi was a great enough ruler to receive this insulting message also with courtesy and dignity. He found, however, that the Dominicans and Franciscans, and their converts, presuming on his generosity, openly defied him when he gave orders that they should not speak against the ancestral worship and thus interfere with the emotional culture of the empire. Even then he did not deal with them as Christian rulers were dealing with those who disobeyed them in religious matters, and whom they tortured and burnt at the stake. He merely started very quietly to limit their work, and it was not until his successor, Chien Lung, came to the throne that Christianity was definitely forbidden and driven from China.

The difficulty here was religious and fundamental. The supreme Christian authority had decided that Christianity was not a religion that could be combined with that of China, but an exclusive unity of the Jewish type which could not

combine with any other group save as its members renounced their own group and accepted the Christian creed and customs in all their particulars. The emperor, on his part, decided that to renounce the old ancestral culture would mean the disintegration of Chinese civilization and, therefore, excluded a religion whose avowed purpose was to destroy that culture. Opinion will always differ as to whether the Christian teaching about God and Christ could have been added to the old Chinese culture, in accordance with the Jesuit plan, without losing its essentials. The old Confucian ethic is closely similar to that of Christ, and it seems unfortunate that instead of being treated as an antagonist it could not have been vitalized by the dynamic emotional culture of Christianity.

In that case China might not at present be torn by civil strife. What she needed, as is evident from the preceding chapters, was an emotional culture which would cement the ancestral groups into a nation, and which would also put real feeling into the conventional forms by which the old sages had sought to express reverence and mutual love. Christianity was well adapted to do both these things if it had been possible for it to build on the Chinese emotional system, in accordance with the plan of the Jesuits. Whatever the religious point of view may be, it seems a tragedy, from the social view-point, that all the slaughter and destruction of these later years could not have been avoided by the means advocated by Ricci.

8. THE SENSE OF HONOR AND GROUPS FORMED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT

We cannot leave the discussion of China without first noting that an emotional culture was there developed of a type which will later be shown to be most essential in the modern democracy. This is the culture of the emotions which we call public spirit and the sense of honor. Confucius gave his followers the golden rule almost in the words of Christ. He said: "Assail your own vices before those of others."

He told men that the one great word was charity, or mutual love. He, therefore, gave to China the groundwork of that Christian ethic which is the basis of public spirit, or brotherhood. In addition, he sought to build up, in a certain class at least, that sense of honor that was developed by the institution of chivalry in Europe, and which was to become the emotional basis of modern fratriarchal groups and governments. He saw that the local ancestral groups must be bound to one another, and that this could only be done by a class of officials in whom this sense of honor had been developed. He says: "The superior man, or gentleman, regards what is right, the vulgar man regards what will pay. The gentleman must be a man of strict personal honor. He must carry out what he says, persevere in what he undertakes, and he must not save his life at the expense of his character." Thus, 500 years before Christ, he started that culture which chivalry sought to develop 1,500 years later. It will be shown in later chapters how important was this culture in fratriarchal groups. We may note in passing that it was the basis of many groups organized by mutual agreement, and which aided in the unification of China. The first of these were probably the seminaries and clubs of the literati, or men of honor, who controlled the intellectual life of China. Guilds of all kinds also appeared, some of them composed of merchants, some of bankers, and others of artisans and craftsmen. These were held together by the sense of honor that enforced their mutual agreement. They had their code of morals, their religious worship, and dramatization ceremonies. More frank than the English guilds, they usually worshipped the god of riches, thus bringing their worship and purpose plainly together. Any one who has dealt with the member of a Chinese guild knows that his word can be relied upon. They have their masters and apprentices, their relief for poor members, and their secret rites, as had the guilds of Europe.

If the old culture of emperor-worship and of ancestral worship is to be permanently done away with, it must be through such groups constituted by mutual agreement that

the unity of China will be preserved. The attempt of Confucius to develop a class of "superior men," or men of honor, seems to have reached only a group of intellectuals, and never to have met the success in China that it achieved in Japan, where the Samurai brought the idea to fulfilment. The whole Chinese culture seems to have lacked emotional dynamic. There was not enough religious feeling in it, and it became more and more a mere formalism. The form helps to maintain the emotion, but it does not suffice in itself, and there must be other means of kindling the emotion where it dies down.

Although China has the beginnings of a culture for democratic groups, it seems probable that many years would be required to develop a republican fratriarchal culture which would be as effective as the old culture, devised so many millenniums ago, and which produced a great civilization and maintained it for 4,000 years.

CHAPTER IX

THE EXCLUSIVE CULTURE OF THE HINDUS. THE PROTECTION OF RACIAL IDEALS

I. PROTECTIVE RACIAL BARRIERS

THE system by which India was unified differs from any other in the world and has produced a social order that is unique. China was unified by an emotional culture which aimed to hold men together by stabilizing certain relationships, such as that of father and son, or ruler and subject. The culture of India was directed toward stabilizing certain groups. The Jews maintained a divisive culture which separated them from all other peoples. The Hindus used the divisive culture in a different way. They have set up a culture which divides their own people into some 3,000 hereditary groups, each of which lives in a social compartment which is hermetically sealed. The Indian system is of interest, since it was the carefully-thought-out plan of an intelligent race to overcome dangers similar to those which America faces to-day. The Aryas were probably the eldest and ablest branch of the great Nordic race which certain modern historians vaunt as the world's only hope for progress and enlightenment. It is claimed that they came through the passes and down into India at some time between 5000 and 3000 B. C. In his book on *Aryan Rule in India*, E. H. Havell says: "The Aryan system was a social organization based on sanitary laws and inspired by high ethical and social ideals. It was a scheme of communal village life worked out by the practical philosophy of one of the most highly gifted races of mankind, in which each section of the community and each individual member of it took his allotted share of work for the common weal not under the compulsion of an autocrat or of a ruling caste but by a clear perception of mutual advantage and a voluntary recognition

of superior intellectual leadership." In other words, these people had developed in ancient times a fratriarchal culture of the same superior type that has made the Anglo-Saxon race one of the great factors in modern civilization. The Aryas were apparently tall and fair, spare in build, and with finely cut features, whose main characteristic was a rather long, high-bridged nose.

They found in India a conglomeration of primitive races whom they called the Daisya, and whose savage and brutish customs they regarded with horror. Even to-day there are still some ten millions of these primitive animists, or devil-worshippers, in India, who have remained through all the centuries untouched by the Aryan civilization. The tribes found by the Aryas were of two main stocks, which are still plainly marked: the Dravidians, who were short and nearly black in color, with long, black hair and broad noses, flat at the root; and the Mongolians, whose type is familiar to us among the Chinese and Thibetans.

The early Dravidian culture was probably of the primitive matriarchal type. Descent was traced only through the mother. There was no marriage, and the fathers were hunters from a different tribe, who were welcomed on the occasion of some festivity and who then returned to their own group. Both land and children were held by the tribe in communal possession, and all the children were regarded as brothers and sisters. As the father took no interest in the children, the "father" idea was unknown to these tribes. They worshipped the Great Mother, who protected them, but demanded the sacrifice of human victims in return. The old men of the tribe brought up their nephews after they reached a certain age, and taught them forest-lore and war-craft. The system was a socialistic despotism maintained by powerful taboos. The more independent men broke away at times from their tribe and became a community of bandits, preying upon others. Such men seized women in their raids and kept them as wives. They also often chose a leader or king, so that a secondary type of community arose in which the family and the kingship appeared. These Dravidian peo-

ples the Aryas conquered, partly in warfare, but even more by sending leaders, or gurus among them, who gradually taught them the Aryan ideas and religion.

At first there was a certain amount of intermarriage, and then it became evident that unless some precautions were taken, the Aryan type and culture would be completely submerged by the vast numbers of their subjects. It was as if a small group of Anglo-Saxons found themselves in Africa among millions of negroes, and after establishing their government and religion, discovered that their type was gradually disappearing as the number of mulattoes increased, and that their standards of character and of government were being submerged by the superstitions and cruelties of the subject race. The Aryas evidently decided that some firm barrier must be erected to prevent the disintegration of all that made life of worth to them. In a recent book, Gino Speranza has called attention to the fact that the American government and society and law were based on a certain type of character achieved by Anglo-Saxons through ages of development. It rested upon a citizenry who had a sense of honor and fair play which could be relied upon to produce a finer type of justice than that which is due to the stern enforcement of a code; who had a sense of responsibility which held them to the performance of any obligation they accepted, no matter what the cost; who had been trained to fair dealing in any game or system of government they undertook. Speranza calls attention to the fact that this group is being submerged by vast numbers of aliens who have been trained to do their work only under the spur of authority and under the culture of fear; who have no such sense of honor, and who laugh at men who will keep their word and play fair when they have a chance to achieve wealth by a trick or a bribe. He gives a stern warning that our government and civilization must fail unless we devise some way to maintain the authority and standards of this original group. It was precisely this emergency that the Aryas faced thousands of years ago, and it is of value to us to note how they met it.

2. THE CASTE SYSTEM

The Aryas were divided into four classes: the Kshatriyas, or warriors and rulers; the Brahmins, or priests and teachers; the Vaisyas, or cultivators of the soil; and the Sudras, who, by the type of employment in which they were engaged, were regarded as unfit to participate in religious ceremonies. The first three were called the twice-born, and even to-day the boys of these castes go through a ceremonial of initiation which marks their birth into social responsibility, and receive the sacred thread which they wear ever after across the shoulder and breast. Originally, the Kshatriyas were the leading class, but, like other rulers, they apparently formed alliances with the local chiefs and kings by inter-marriage, and their blood became, therefore, more mixed than that of the Brahmins, or temple attendants, and when it came to a division on the basis of racial purity, the Brahmins naturally became the leading caste.

The plan adopted by the Aryas to maintain their cultural ascendancy is familiar to us to-day as the caste system of India. This is defined as a "system of some 3,000 hereditary groups, each internally bound by rules of ceremonial purity and externally separated by the same rules." Entrance to any caste can only be attained by birth. There are approximately 180 main castes, and these are divided into many sub-castes. The subcastes are again separated into clans, or gotras. A man may not marry any one in his gotra, but he *must* marry within his subcaste. Every girl must marry into a clan which is superior or at least equal to her station.

This very complicated graded system by which a vast population was divided into water-tight strata was apparently based at first upon color. The old Sanskrit word for caste signifies color, and this was, of course, the plainest index of racial purity. It was much as if an Anglo-Saxon group that had interbred with Africans should create a caste of the pure whites, a second caste of those with a faint admixture of negro blood, a third of octaroons, a fourth of mulattoes, and so on down to a final caste of pure blacks.

This division was modified by other considerations. The Brahmins, who were supposed to be pure in blood, were graded into subcastes on the basis of their occupations, since certain of these interfered with ceremonial purity more than others. The Rajputs, who claim to be the chief representatives of the old Kshatriyas, form one caste divided into many clans and constitute the second main division. The Vaisyas, now divided into many subcastes, come third in rank. The three twice-born classes, which apparently were not castes originally, were separated from the others by a marked line. Some authorities state that the fourth class, or Sudras, were originally pure in blood but impure by occupation, and therefore not allowed to study the Vedas or to take part in the sacrificial rites. They were divided into many castes according to their employment. Below them were the vast numbers of the Samyana, or outcast castes, the product of mixed marriages. In all this stupendous graded system some divisions, as indicated, are evidently made on the basis of employment, and we find a caste of herdsmen, and milkmen, and blacksmiths, and goldsmiths. Such castes may have grown out of the guild system which developed in India in the Middle Ages. When such an occupational group was formed it would naturally tend to take its place in the caste system. Many whole tribes which were conquered either by the arms or culture of the Hindus were taken in bodily as a new caste and given a place in the system. Such seems to have been the origin of the Mahratta caste. An individual can become a Hindu only by birth, but a whole tribe may be accepted as a new caste.

At the bottom of the list is a caste of some 25,000,000 laborers known as Paraiyan, or Pariahs, and called, "the untouchables." There are also some 4,000,000 belonging to the criminal castes, which are hereditary groups, whose accepted vocation is that of stealing and burglary, and who do no work. Their only code is "Thou shalt not be found out." They live in indescribable degradation. When they require food, they break the back of a lizard and throw it alive on the fire to roast.

3. THE NATURE OF THE CASTE BARRIER

The barrier between these castes is created by a special application of the old mana and miasma system of emotional culture. Theoretically, the Brahmins, like the priesthood of other tribes, have access to mana so long as they maintain their ceremonial purity and avoid contact with all persons and things that defile. Each caste, through the ministrations of the Brahmins, shares in this mana so long as it in its turn keeps free from defilement. In the course of centuries the emotional culture has been so separated from the religion upon which it was based that there are those who tell us to-day that Hinduism is not a religion at all but a social system. This emotional unification culture is the basis of Indian civilization. As long as a man observes that, he may worship any gods he chooses. To be a Hindu, a man must obey the dharmia, or ceremonial law. There is a general dharma for all Hindus, in which appears the old fundamental basis of the system, the cause for which it was organized and which alone made it of value. This is the law which demands that all should yield reverence to Brahmins, not as rulers, for such they were not, but as a superior order of beings possessed of mana, who know and teach the divine law, and who counsel rulers how to govern and men how to live. It was thus that the Aryas hoped to keep supreme that race culture and character on which their civilization was built. Hinduism is then not a religion but a code, not a creed but a culture, designed not to protect a form of worship but to preserve a type of character.

Another survival of ancient Aryan days is found in the veneration for cattle, prescribed in the general dharma, which apparently comes from the time when the life of the Aryan herdsman depended on his herds.

A more recent addition to the code is the law which demands respect for animal life. The original Aryas sacrificed animals, but there was a reaction against the religion of blood, and everywhere the gurus taught men so far as possible to spare the lives of their fellow creatures, and the

bloody sacrifice survived only in those forms that were taken over from the conquered tribes—such as those connected with the worship of Kali, the Great Mother.

Each caste has its own dharma, its customs and ceremonies, which must be rigidly observed. These deal chiefly with diet and marriage. They are enforced by a caste council, or panchayat, which also regulates wages and determines what occupations are degrading to members of the caste. For ordinary defilement, forms of purification are prescribed. In extreme cases the offender is expelled from the caste and becomes an outcast. No one can then touch him or give him food and he is entirely cut off from social relations. This terrible penalty resembles that of ancient Rome, by which an extreme offender was debarred from fire and water. One of the chief means of purification is the liquid butter known as ghi, which is put upon the ceremonial fires and used in offerings. Lord Ronaldshay states that it was recently discovered that certain manufacturers had adulterated this ghi with animal fat, which made it a cause of the greatest defilement to all who touched it. Some 5,000 Brahmins who had made use of the adulterated ghi gathered in the greatest distress and devoted themselves to the ceremonies of purification, without which they must lose their caste through defilement. Fires of purification were built and for three days and nights the unfortunate Brahmins sat beside them fasting and devoting themselves to prayer and the necessary ceremonies. The panchayats of three castes met and decided upon penalties for the guilty manufacturers, some of whom were excommunicated from the social order.

The whole social system is based on the maintenance of reverence for the Brahmin and the preservation of his ceremonial purity. The position of the other castes is indicated by the extent to which they defile a Brahmin. The Brahmin may take water from the twice-born and from certain castes of the Sudras. Certain castes defile a Brahmin if they approach within eight feet of him; others must stay at a distance of sixteen feet; still more impure castes defile

at a distance of thirty-two feet; and the lowest "untouchables" cannot approach within sixty-four feet, without making it necessary for the Brahmin to undergo a ceremonial of purification. It is recorded that the child of a Brahmin in some village fell into a well. Only low-caste men were at hand, and their offers of assistance were refused by the mother, who felt it better that the child should die rather than be subjected to defilement. Such facts indicate how successful were the Aryas in erecting and maintaining the barrier to protect their race.

If one attempts to imagine the effect that such a system would have on the transportation arrangements in London or New York, one can gain a slight idea of its inconvenience and of the difficulties it puts in the way of all business and progress.

It has been called the cruelest and most tyrannical social system in existence, since it holds every man to the exact station in which he was born and excludes all hope of advancement. A friend informed the writer that he had a servant of the despised bhisti, or water-carrier, caste who was so intelligent and faithful that he offered to make him a bearer, or body-servant, with much better wages and a far pleasanter employment. The man replied: "My father was a bhisti, and his father was a bhisti, and his father again was a bhisti, and all my people have always been bhistis; how then can I be a bearer?" It was so manifest an impossibility to his mind that he did not even consider it. It is claimed that certain large elements of the population are thus kept in degradation, without a chance of improvement.

4. POSSIBLE VALUES IN THE CASTE SYSTEM

To the Hindu mind, however, the situation is different, and there are certain things to be said for the system. In the Indian conception the world is a graded school, where each man is placed at birth in the particular grade which is necessary for his development. The Hindu believes that a man's caste is an infallible index of his soul. He cannot

escape from that grade during this life, but if he lives worthily his soul will so develop that after death he may be reborn in a higher caste. It is a system of spiritual eugenics. The Occidental idea is that men progress by achieving a better environment and a higher position, and for this every ambitious Westerner struggles. The Hindu holds that true progress and soul-development come from making the most of the position to which a man is born and through utilizing to the utmost the opportunities it affords, rather than through seeking to rise in the social order. If he is a herdsman, progress comes through being the best kind of a herdsman rather than through becoming a clerk. In other words, man progresses by deepening his relations rather than by broadening or changing them. The Indian believes that all types are essential and should be preserved and that each finds its most perfect development through the long group heredity provided by the caste. It is a system of breeding for points. Each type has been perfected by centuries of specialized development of its characteristic abilities.

Of all these types the Brahmin is the one of supreme importance, the top grade to which the others progress by rebirth, and it is to maintain this type untarnished that the whole system exists. When one considers the various primitive races and degraded customs that surrounded the Aryas, it is not surprising that they valued their culture and sought to preserve it at all hazards. They saw that they had something of infinite value to give to the world and that it would be lost and submerged unless they defended it. It was in truth that noble type of character without which the highest civilization cannot exist, and it involved the culture of the sense of honor and of the emotions of brotherly love and unselfish devotion which we have found essential to the higher forms of unification. In the laws of Manu it is said that the Brahmin must shun worldly honor and sensual excesses as poison. In the first quarter of his life he must learn to control his passions and must wait upon some guru. Matters of the spirit must come first. He

must always speak the truth. He must avoid all wealth that hinders the study of the Vedas. He must do the least possible injury to all living things. This code of Manu showed a keen sense of justice and of responsibility in proportion to opportunity. The social sense of a nation can be seen in the penalties it exacts. A man who steals from his brother breaks the relation of unity and commits a wrong which cannot be set right merely by restoring what was taken. The code of Manu VIII, 337-8, declared that, in case of theft, the guilt of the Sudra should be eightfold, that of the Vaisya sixteenfold, that of the Kshatriya thirty-twofold, while that of the Brahmin was assessed at sixty-fourfold. As his position was one of greater trust and responsibility, the wrong to the community was proportionally greater. If we contrast this with some of the mediæval Western codes, where the commoner received the extreme penalty and the lord escaped with a slight fine, we can appreciate the high ethical sense possessed by the Aryas in primitive times.

The Aryan culture was not confined to individual character. Upon this character were built definite forms of social organization, in all of which there was a finely developed emotional culture. The simplest Aryan village embodied a religious symbolism. It was oriented by a gnomon, and divided into four wards by two main streets intersecting at the centre. Each street and each gate had its symbolic significance, and the plan of the swastika was sometimes followed. There was a regular path which the religious procession followed around the walls—known as the eight-fold path. The council-tree or council-house was at the centre, and each temple had its appropriate position. The north gate was sacred to Varuna; the south gate to Surya, the sun-god, and later to Vishnu; the east gate to Brahma; and the west gate to Shiva. There was a village assembly which at first elected a council of five, one from each of the social elements of the community. Committees were elected every year to manage the affairs of the village. There was usually a committee on the "tank," or water-supply, one on "justice," and one on "gold," or finance. The names of can-

didates were written by the citizens and put in a pot by the priest. The candidates whose names were drawn by a boy from the pot were chosen to serve. Each family had its own herds and possessions, but the pasture-land was owned in common. The villages were grouped around a central market and fortress, where the rajah, or chief of the tribe, lived. Ordinarily, the king, or rajah, held his office by a sort of social contract. He was elected to quell disorders and to maintain justice between rich and poor. Kautilya, who lived about the time of Alexander the Great, tells us that for this service the king received as a wage from each man one-sixth of his grain or one-tenth of his merchandise. Whatever stolen property the king could not restore to its owner he was compelled to make good from his own property. He thus supplied the place of our theft-insurance companies, in an age when danger from thieves was much greater. In the village, justice was administered by the local panchayat and the head man. The independence of the village was well protected. The king's officers might not enter it save on the king's business. For important criminal cases there were two courts, the inferior and superior, which held their sessions in circuit in the villages and towns. From these there was a final appeal to the king's council. Such was the arrangement under Chandragupta about 300 B. C., and it is probable that it was based on ancient Aryan tradition. When one considers that it was to preserve such a type of government and character that the caste system was created, one will greatly hesitate to condemn it. Rather will it seem the noble effort of a proud and independent people, few in numbers but determined in spirit, to preserve the standards they prized from the defiling touch of the ignorant and base.

5. THE DHARMA

India affords examples of so many types and stages of belief and of culture, from the crudest and most primitive superstition to the most exalted mystical philosophy, and the most complete self-renunciation and devotion to God, that

it is most difficult to describe the emotional forces that have been dominant in the construction of its civilization. There is a tendency in all nations, as they progress, to spiritualize and interpret in symbolic fashion the crude myths and beliefs of their primitive religion, as Plato did with the Greek stories, and Philo with those of the Jews, and the Hindu philosophers have been even more adept in this art than those of other nations. How far they have affected the mass of the people may be open to question, but they have lifted the ancient religion of India to a spiritual interpretation which might well serve as the emotional basis upon which the whole world of intelligent men might unite. As stated above, it is difficult to put one's finger upon the exact elements which differentiate the Hindu emotional culture from that of other races. Superficially the unique feature appears to consist in an attempt to create reverence for a whole class of men rather than for one king or god and his representative, as was done in Egypt or Mesopotamia. The Hindus seemed content to emotionalize the relation between the common man and the Brahmin rather than to try to idealize and stabilize all human relationships, as was attempted in China. A great effect can be produced on a race by creating such an attitude of reverence for a small class, for the natural result is that every one seeks to imitate this class and to adopt its standards. Something of this result is seen in the British attitude toward the gentleman, which undoubtedly has had a great effect on Anglo-Saxon standards. It is not an easy matter to-day to create such an attitude. In India it was done by religion, and was one of the results of a culture based on a book, which seems to be fundamental in all the great civilizations. Hindu teachers inform us that their people regard the Vedas "as the source of their religion and the basis of their social fabric." The Brahmins are the hereditary custodians of these hymns. They alone know the words and the correct intonations to use in the ritual, as well as the hidden meaning. Without them the common man cannot approach the gods. This gave them their prestige and caused them to be regarded as

representatives of the gods. The Brahmana of one hundred paths says: "Verily, there are two kinds of gods; for the gods are gods, and the Brahmins who have studied and teach the sacred lore are human gods." It was even asserted that divinity could only manifest itself here on earth in their own class and caste. Oldenberg says: "The manifestation of the world to come in the midst of the present world is the caste of the Brahmins, who have knowledge and power, who can open and shut to man the approach of the gods and make enemies or friends for him above."

The old families of Boston are sometimes called the Brahmins. If it were generally felt that these families were the only true representatives of the gods and the only ones who possessed the true standards of art and literature and manners and morals, the name would be deserved. It is easy to see what tremendous power and influence such a belief would put into the hands of a limited number, since every one would copy them and look to them for approval. There would thus be produced a type of unification which is not political but cultural. To create a political unity the effective means is the usual one of creating reverence for some one man as the representative of the god. The mass of the people can thus be directed by a single will in united action. Reverence for a class does not produce united action, but it did secure the maintenance of common standards of morals and manners. Such a cultural unity is really a higher product than the more usual political unity. It can become the background for higher forms of government than the old autocracy. It may be said that the finest civilizations have nearly always had such a group of superior men who set their standards and were copied by all, because they were revered and admired. The value of such a system depends, of course, entirely upon the standards of the leading group.

If, then, the first point in the racial unification of the Hindus was reverence for the Brahmin, the second point was of no less importance, for this concerns the use to which the Brahmins put their power over the people. Such

a priestly class usually aims at cultivating in the mind of the people superstitions that will enable them to maintain their hold. They compel obedience to a certain god, or to a complicated ritual, or body of custom, which is detrimental, rather than helpful, to race development. The Brahmins, however, allowed the greatest latitude in worship and customs. Men might choose any god they wished, and each village might have laws and customs of its own. But although they gave the greatest latitude to its interpretation, they did insist that there was a dharma or divine law to which every Hindu must yield implicit obedience. This law apparently was interpreted according to the capacity of the pupil. For the ignorant and degraded it commanded some simple observance that all could understand and follow. For the keen intellect and high ideals of the aristocrat it had commands that would tax his utmost ability, while it offered rewards that coincided with his loftiest vision. To the ignorant it might appear in the form of a degraded superstition, to the intelligent it was revealed as the immutable law, which alone makes human life intelligible. But strangely enough, the conviction was carried that in every case and in every sphere it was the same dharma, and that it was this divine law rather than any mere blood-relationship, which really held the whole Hindu race together. Nath says: "The aim of the Aryas was to seek unity through truth (satya) and duty (dharma)." This, of course, is a much higher type of unity than that which is based merely on physical relationship. Sister Nivedita says: "The dharma includes the whole social conception of law and conduct and worship." "Dharma is the force or principle that binds together; it is the union of traditional thought and faith, of common custom, loyalty, and understanding, that makes of society an organic or religious unity." Here there is an attempt to include under the one word "dharma" all the feelings and ideas and customs which have been described in the preceding chapters as the emotional cultures that form the basis of civilization. Such a conception differs from the idea of law we have derived from fixed codes like

those of Moses, or Hammurabi, or Justinian, and resembles more our idea of the law of nature, which causes the unfeeling stone to fall, but also causes the sap to rise in the trunk of the tree, and the deer to leap up the hill. Its action is different in different stages of development, but it is the one law that binds all nations together. This idea is by no means a mere modern interpretation, for in the ancient Mahabharata LXIX we read: "That which holds together the peoples of the universe is dharma." Although the dharma originated in the inspired revelations of the Vedas, it was not limited to these, as the Jews supposed that the law of God was written down for all time in the Pentateuch. "The four sources of the dharma are revelations, traditions, customs, and self-inspired vows." (S. C. Vasu, *Catechism of Hindu Thought*.) The dharma was therefore something which was growing and expanding and had its special applications to individual needs and development.

The Hindus, then, were united in the first place by reverence for the Brahmin, and in the second place by the law, or dharma, which the Brahmins taught and enforced. It is evident that the character of the people would depend upon what this law compelled them to do. As has been suggested, this was largely a question of interpretation. It seems probable that the dharma was originally a mere series of taboos of the mana and miasma type, where disregard of ritualistic formulas exposed the transgressor to the contagion and destruction of the forces of evil. While much of this remained in the system of mantras, or charms, there gradually emerged the idea of a dharma which was the law, inexorable and immutable, by which the universe was governed. Although their conception of this law was very different from the Hebrew idea of the autocratic will of a Yahwe, it also differed from our modern idea of a natural law which is indifferent to all moral issues. It resembled somewhat the Greek idea of *Ἀνάγκη* (necessity) as interpreted by Plato. Frazer says: "From the dawn of thought in India the abiding faith of the people has been this one firm and assured belief that it is only through good

deeds that a man can be born good or become good, and that by bad deeds he becomes bad." This idea of an unalterable causation working itself out, so that a man who does good deeds is reborn after death on a higher plane, and his condition in life is the exact result of the deeds he has done in this life or in a former one, lifts Hinduism out of superstition to a higher and more reasonable conception of conduct and life than that attained by any other race. The penalty for transgressing the laws of unity is not exposure to the miasma of evil, as in the earlier superstitions, nor persecution by malignant spirits, nor punishment by the wrath of an offended god, as in the Jewish religion, nor endless torture in some life to come, as the Christians taught. It is merely the orderly working out of causes which the individual himself has set in motion and which shape the conditions under which he is reborn after death. Such a conception has infinite possibilities as a stimulus to progress and unity.

6. UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

The ultimate value of such a system depends on the standard it enforces. It remains, then, to consider what was regarded by the Hindus as a good deed, and one which would operate to raise the soul to a higher status. If such deeds were merely ceremonial acts, such as sprinkling with water or telling beads or eating sacramental bread, and deeds of cruelty and injustice were allowed or excused, the system might serve to unify men after a fashion, but would not create a really coherent and stable civilization. To attain that result good deeds must be those which result in the general good, and bad deeds must be those which really injure and harm others. Nath says of the Indian dharma: "Good conduct was the key-note of the system. It is declared to be the root of all prosperity. No worship of God in the three worlds was equal to compassion for all creatures, friendly feelings toward all, charity and sweet words." The five great sacrifices are: first, reading and teaching the Vedas; second, oblations to forefathers; third, sacrifices to the

gods; fourth, distribution of food to living creatures; fifth, the feeding of guests. We have spoken of the value of the first three in preserving the unity of the racial culture of the family and of the tribe, respectively. In this connection it may be mentioned that the family religion (cultivated by oblations to forefathers) produced in India a peculiarly tender and reverential relation between the sons and the father and mother. It was in the fourth and fifth forms of sacrifice, however, that the culture reached its highest point. Some of the Sutras phrase most beautifully the belief that higher than all the pomps of sacrifice and greater than the expenditure of wealth upon vast temples is the offering of one little flower, if love goes with it.

The basis of this culture of love and service to all living things is the belief in the essential unity of all things, since the same creative power or Brahman exists in them all as their "atman," or inner self. The Bhagavadgita (X, 39) says: "The Self names himself as many objects—as sun and moon, mountain and tree, horse and cow, bird and serpent, nor is there aught, moving or unmoving, that may exist bereft of Me."

A corollary of this is that all men must belong to a universal brotherhood, since they all share the same self. The Sanatana Dharma says: "Universal brotherhood is based in the unity; men are divided by their Upadhis, both dense and subtle, but they are all rooted in the One Self." Here we seem to find a contradiction between the caste system, with its rigid barriers dividing men into water-tight compartments, and this conception of a universal brotherhood. But apparently the barrier is a thing which is to be overcome, and the essential truth is that beneath these superficial differences which divide men they are really all one in nature. The Mahanirvana says: "From the most learned Brahmin down to the low-born outcast, verily all human beings on this earth are entitled to the privileges of this brotherhood." Here, then, is the root of the Hindu conception, which is perhaps more perfectly adapted than that of any other race to produce a world unity. In all men and in all living things is the same essential Self. They are differentiated by certain

external characteristics or idiosyncrasies, which create the impression that they are separate and perhaps antagonistic entities. But this apparent separateness is an illusion, and when they know the truth they then realize that they are all one. The Hindu basis of unity in its higher form, therefore, is not found in blood-relationship, as with the Semites, nor unity in the worship of a God, as in Egypt or Rome, nor unity in allegiance to a feudal lord, as in mediæval Europe. It is not a mystical union produced by love toward a divine leader and due to sharing his spirit, as in primitive Christianity. It is an actual unity of essence. To enable it to create among men that unity which is essential to civilization, it is only necessary to enable them to understand the facts and feel the underlying realities of life. If every one really felt that part of his own self dwelt in the forms of the men about him, it would, of course, bring an end to all strife and warfare and to most of the world's suffering. The great difficulty is to create this sense of reality—in other words, to transform the idea into a belief by emotionalizing it. The average man does not feel that part of his own self is looking at him from the eyes of a beggar, or masquerading behind the features of the coarse and brutal man who insults him, nor that a part of his self is hidden behind the fragrant petals of the rose, and even behind the glare of the tiger's eye. The holy men of India, by constant meditation, have succeeded in reaching this realization, and it is this wonderful sense of their unity with all men and all things that charms us as we read what they have written or said. Apparently even they doubt if this realization can be attained by the masses of the people, and the caste system would seem to demonstrate their belief that men must be expected to feel more plainly than the unity the differences that exist between them. Until they become conscious of this unity the barrier must be maintained. When they achieve the consciousness of unity they then become Yogis and are superior to the caste barriers. There are, of course, few who do this and, as we see it, the whole system seems to contradict the idea of brotherhood and to be designed to cultivate a sense of division between men. The great weak-

ness of the religion is that it does not provide any emotional culture to develop the feelings which it teaches are fundamental, or to create in a man this sense of unity with all his fellows. Instead of seeking to produce in each man this feeling of oneness with others, the Hindu religion seems to concentrate on creating a sense of unity between each man and his god. Their worship is not congregational, like that of the Mohammedans, where a great sense of solidarity is created by the prayers made by a multitude prostrating themselves together before the same god. Hindu worship is an individual matter. Each man in worshipping seems to enter into a relation with his god which is peculiarly close and intimate and which gives to even the most ignorant a feeling of unity with the divine. The god is the god of his own village, or of his own sect, but many worshippers probably feel that this god is only a manifestation of the great God who is in all things. It may be said then that Hindu worship and custom is not really in line with the fundamental ideas of the Hindu philosophy. The caste system emphasizes the divisions between men and the worship unites each individual to his god and does not tend to create a sense of brotherhood between the separate individuals. It seems unfortunate that a race which has shown such marvellous powers of thought and which has elaborated a theory of the meaning of life more profound and more adapted to the needs of men than that attained by any other thinkers should have failed to provide an emotional culture which would give those ideas reality or bring them within the reach of the mass of the people. It is an illustration of the fact that the noblest ideas are of little value in social construction unless they are emotionalized.

CHAPTER X

THE UNIFICATION CULTURE OF THE HINDUS

I. THE FAMILY CULTURE

IF the Hindus had possessed merely the divisive emotional culture just described, which created barriers between the various sections of the population, it is doubtful if the system would have survived.

The divisive element was superimposed upon the familiar patriarchal culture, which, as usual, began with the family. As the result of ages of special culture, the Hindu family attained an extraordinary sense of unity. Its members felt so much at one that the question of the ownership of property seems to have been left quite undetermined by the code of Manu and by the Smriti of Yajnavalkya, and has only been decided by the commentators of recent times. It was apparently assumed that all the family wealth and property was owned by the family as a whole, under the direction and control of the father. When the father died, it was possible to divide the property between the sons or to keep it undivided under the management and control of the eldest son. Special gifts belonged to the individual to whom they were given and there were some other exceptions, but in the main all the earnings of the family went into a common fund. This is still true in most Hindu families to-day. The earnings of each individual go into the common stock and from it the wants of all are supplied. The family accounts are kept by the manager, the father or eldest brother, and no separate record is made of the earnings of individuals; no member can be accused by another of having consumed more than his share and compelled to make good, nor is any one dependent on his own contribution to the family fund.

No matter how large the family and how many houses it occupies, it always has one home, a house where the family gods remain, where the family worship is conducted, and to which all members of the family have access at any time.

As with the Romans, each family has its ancestral gods, and all the members of the group gather in the temple-room of the home at stated intervals to perform the shradda, or family worship. In accordance with the usual unification culture, each meal is shared with the god, and offerings of water are poured out daily at his shrine. With the Hindus, worship seems in a peculiar sense the cultivation of a sense of unity with the god. It is apparently an effort on the part of the worshipper to enter into a close and affectionate relationship with his divinity. He brings his offerings of flowers, rice, or water, touches both head and feet, repeats certain prayers, and thus stands for some time in quiet meditation.

A similar unification culture was practised in each village in connection with the worship of the village god. Moreover, each individual performed a like act of homage to the gods of the race. This triple culture, known as the grihya devata, or family worship, the gramya devata, or village worship, and the ishta devata, or worship of some one of the great racial gods, was the duty of each individual.

2. AMALGAMATION OF TRIBAL GODS

The racial gods of the Aryas, who are described in the Vedas, have been regarded as merely personifications of the forces of nature. It is probable, however, that the Vedic religion followed a course of development similar to that of Egypt, and that Dyaus (the Greek Zeus), the ancestral god of the race, became identified with the heavens, much as Ra, the father of all in Egypt, was associated with the sun. The original gods of the Vedas, at any rate, were all the children of Dyaus, and it seems natural to suppose that this family was created by amalgamation of various tribal deities, as was apparently the case in Egypt, Chaldea, and Greece. The "father" idea is strongly emphasized in accor-

dance with the familiar patriarchal unification culture. The Atharva Veda (IV, 16) says of Indra, the storm-god: "Thou art our guardian, advocate, and friend; a brother, father, and mother all combined. Most fatherly of fathers, we are thine and thou art ours." In the Vedic War of the Ten Kings, between the Tritsu and Puru, the Tritsu, apparently, were the worshippers of Brahma, and among their allies appear the Vishanin, who seem to have been the tribe devoted to Vishnu, and another tribe bearing the name of Shiva. It is natural to conclude that the familiar triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva was an amalgamation of these three primitive tribal gods.

Certain groups also appear to whom are applied the names Suryaputra, or sons of the sun, and Chandraputra, or sons of the moon, which would seem to indicate that the sun and moon gods were special tribal deities in the early days.

It is difficult to speak positively of this early period, but there is no reason to suppose that the unification culture was essentially different from that of other races. As the Aryas conquered the other peoples of India, there is evidence that these tribes were unified with them by the usual process of identification of gods. Shiva, the most popular of the present gods, has eight manifestations which seem totally at variance with one another and with the primitive Aryan conception of him. He is known as the great destroyer, but he appears also as a learned sage, an emaciated ascetic, as a phallic god, representing the reproductive powers of nature, and as a jovial mountaineer. It seems reasonable to conclude that certain local deities of the Mongolian hill tribes and of the Dravidian dwellers in the plains were identified with Shiva, and that the old forms of tribal worship, in spite of their incongruities, were continued in his name. In the Aryan system Shiva came to be the special god of the Brahmins, and represented the ascetic practice and the mystic philosophy, while Vishnu was more especially the god of the Kshatriyas, the rulers and workers, and represented a more pragmatic philosophy. A process of identification similar to that in the case of Shiva seems to have occurred with Vishnu, who, in

Aryan thought, was the great preserver of life. He was identified with Surya, the sun-god; with Vasadeva and Narayana, and with several local heroes, such as Krishna. In connection with the latter, there seems to have been combined a singular identification with the very coarse and primitive god of the cowherds, whose actions and words form a most glaring contrast with the exalted spirituality of the Krishna of the Bhagavadgita. Vishnu also appears as a ram, a boar, and a tortoise, which would seem to indicate an identification with some of the totemlike ancestral gods of the primitive tribes. It is very difficult to account for all these incongruities, so foreign to the thought of the Vedas, on any other basis than that of the unification culture which has been found necessary in all attempts to hold together the peoples of dissimilar tribes.

As stated above, the primitive Dravidian tribes worshipped various mother goddesses. It is said that there were 140 such goddesses in Gujerat alone. These were apparently united in the terrible Kali, the great mother, who demands blood from her children, and she, in turn, was identified with Parvati, the wife of Shiva, according to the Aryan belief, and also with the bride of the sun-god. In this way many of the gross and cruel ideas and practices of the Dravidians were carried over into the Hindu system. The Brahmins apparently felt that it was necessary to include them for the sake of unification, and that they could be made of value if only the dominance and racial purity of the Aryas could be maintained. The bloody sacrifices to Kali were peculiarly obnoxious to the Brahmins of the time of the code of Manu, but a place was made even for these terrible rites, and the bloody goddess was finally so spiritualized that she became the chief inspiration to a holy life for men of the noblest character.

3. THE UNITY OF ALL IN GOD

The process of unification went on under the great Aryan thinkers until the conception developed that the manifold gods of the pantheon, the divinities of the family and village

and tribe, as well as the great gods, were all manifestations of the one great God. To-day the Hindu does not discriminate clearly whether he believes in one God or many. He believes in each of the local gods, and yet he holds that there is only one God. This attitude, which is logically confused, is pragmatically essential for effective unification. If religion is to be a vital influence, each man must have some concrete, definite presentation of the god of his fathers, which awakens the ancestral associations in his mind, but for the sake of unification he must also feel that this god is the same as those of his compatriots. Simple-minded men must be reached through the concrete, and the exalted spiritual philosophy of the Upanishads could be brought to bear upon them only through gradually associating it with some material image which was held sacred. Religion transcends logic, and the Hindu is, perhaps, no more inconsistent in saying that his gods are both many and one than the Trinitarian in worshipping three persons, who are yet One God.

It is not in the scope of this article to show how the old mana and miasma system was spiritualized by the great Aryan thinkers. The prophets of Israel succeeded in putting an ethical content into the ancient emotional culture, so that the taboo was placed increasingly on acts injurious to the community. It was a spiritual rather than an ethical content that the Aryan thinkers and philosophers put into the mana system, until they made it the vehicle of an inward development of the soul that has hardly been attained by the people of any other race. Starting with the thought that mana was gained through union with the god and that men were continually defiled by a miasma from which purification was necessary, they advanced to the concept that God was the inner Self of all things, and that by a discipline of the soul men could think their way into real union with Him. This idea of God as the true Self which is behind every human soul and every animal life and every material manifestation is the most perfect basis for a unification culture that the mind of man has ever reached. Other systems unify men on the ground that they are all the children of God or

that they are all brothers. The Indian idea is that they *are* essentially united, since the same ultimate Self is in them all. As this unity included animals, all creatures ceased to be the enemies and victims of man, and their lives became sacred, as beings in whom dwelt the same God who was in the human heart. The effect of this idea has already been described in the section on the dharma.

4. UNIFICATION IN GOVERNMENT

The first great empire of which we have knowledge which brought the people of India under one rule was founded by Chandragupta shortly after Alexander the Great made his raid into the Punjab. It would be interesting to know to what extent the Indian conqueror derived his ideas from the Greeks. His campaign began with an attack upon the Greek governor, whom Alexander had left to rule over his conquered province, and he must have been familiar with the methods of government used both by the Greeks and the Persians, to whom the people of northwestern India had paid tribute for some time. We find that the methods of administration and the system of transportation instituted by Chandragupta closely resembled those of the Empire of Darius. The Indian Empire, like the Persian, was based on force and conquest, and was held together only by the system that unified the governing officials. Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, made one of the most remarkable and effective attempts to unify the spirit of a people that the world has ever seen, and it is necessary to take up his history a little more in detail. His reform was the outcome of a sort of social revolution that had its beginnings some 300 years before his time.

5. THE BUDDHIST SOCIAL REVOLUTION

It is evident that the system of the Aryas was one that was liable to abuse. Its success depended entirely upon the devoted and unselfish character of the Brahmins. This priestly caste made use of their authority to develop a system of obnoxious tyranny. They turned back to the old idea

of miasma, and taught that men were surrounded by these destructive forces from which they could only escape by the repetition of certain formulas known as mantras, which could be obtained only through the Brahmins. The repetition of these caused certain etheric vibrations, which destroyed disease and the forces of evil, and brought victory and prosperity. Little by little the Brahmins reduced the people to a superstitious bondage, and the caste system, instead of being a means to perpetuate enlightenment and noble character, proved a chain to hold them in slavery to superstition. It was at this time that a young Kshatriya named Gautama, the son of a prince who was subject to the Rajah of Kapilavastu, disheartened by the suffering and the injustice of the world, went forth to seek enlightenment. We cannot follow here his philosophy, but the effect of his teaching on society was most notable. The most marked feature was the repudiation of the fundamental doctrine that salvation came through the Brahmins and their mantras.

According to the enlightened Gautama or Buddha, it was obtained only by right thinking and right living, and with this new dharma he replaced the old dharma of the castes. In place of the old sacrificial path about the towns, he constructed a new eightfold path of mental and moral attainment, which led midway between the self-torturing ascetic and the self-indulgent sensualist. The effect of his teaching was in some measure a return to the early Aryan society. The Buddhists were organized in a number of sanghas, or groups without caste, which bore a resemblance to the early Aryan clans. These had their assemblies and were of four grades. There was a general assembly of representatives from them all, which served to train the people of India in organized government in much the same fashion as the people of England were trained for patriarchal government by the ecclesiastical assemblies of Theodore, eight centuries later. They had a definite procedure by which to secure action from the common will. A motion was read; then those who were in opposition spoke. When the motion was reduced to such a form that there was no opposition, it was carried.

An arbitrator known for his impartiality was elected to check majority decisions and reject them if they were contrary to the dharma. The dharma of right thinking and right living was supreme, and even the gods were subject to this. The sanghas seem to have avoided the violent disputes of the early church, possibly because their basis was not creeds but right living, where there is not so much room for controversy.

6. A CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE CHRIST

It was the Buddhist faith that Asoka adopted. We are told that he had carried his conquests into south India and was returning from a terrible war with Kalinga in which 100,000 were slain and 150,000 were taken prisoner. As he rode on his elephant with his men at arms over devastated lands covered with the corpses of the slain and saw the weeping women and starving children, a sense of horror at warfare and all the dire results of rule by force came over him, and he made a solemn resolution never to go on such a campaign again, but to live for the good of his people. He became a disciple of Buddha and at once began to rule in accordance with the dharma. All over India the columns that he erected still stand, inscribed with the holy law that all must obey. No one must take the life of any living thing. Every one must act for the welfare of the people. His principle of government was expressed in the statement, "At any hour and place, I must work for the common weal," and he held himself always at the call of those in distress. He sent his officials everywhere, with the command that they should "regard all men as the emperor's children." He gave strictest instructions that his officers should see that the dharma was obeyed everywhere throughout their provinces. Children were to obey their parents; men were to reverence teachers; no living thing must be injured; truth must be spoken and kindness and generosity exercised toward all. He still planned to conquer the world, but to do it only by love and truth. As a preliminary campaign, he sent his brother Mahendra with a chosen group of teachers to con-

quer Ceylon, which they did so effectually that it remains Buddhist to this day. Beside such an ambition, that of Alexander or Cæsar seems brutal and savage. He replaced the superstitious ceremonial law of the Brahmanic system with the moral law, and identified with it the supreme power of the state. His great rule for all was: "Strive to do good to all creatures; that is sufficient for your salvation in this world and the next." In other words, he sought to create a universal brotherhood among his people, a kingdom in which kindness, justice, and truth were the only laws. Perhaps no government on earth has been so truly Christian as that of Asoka, 250 years before Christ was born. Practically the whole of India was under his sway. Great highways, sixty-four feet in width, ran from city to city, shaded by trees, with wells, post houses, hostels, and police stations at convenient distances. The streets of the villages were prolonged to form a checker of connecting roads, running north and south, and east and west. The village organization was retained, and the hamlets were grouped in tens around a market. Counties were created of 200 villages, each with its central market and court. 800 villages constituted a province and were grouped around a provincial capital. Great plans of irrigation were carried out, with reservoirs and canals.

The capital city, Pataliputra, extended for nine miles along the Ganges. It had three moats filled with water, and great walls with sixty-four gates, each surmounted by a tower. In a beautiful park with ponds and fountains, and in the midst of trees and flowers, was the royal palace, its pillars plated with gold and covered with reliefs of birds and foliage. In the north part of the city dwelt the Brahmins and some of the superior guilds, such as the armorers. In the northwest were the bazaars and several hospitals. The east section was inhabited by the Kshatriyas and the skilled craftsmen, while the Sudras dwelt in the west. At the corners were the guild-halls. The city was governed by a council of thirty, with six committees on the following subjects: industry, the care of travellers, the recording of births, the regulations of sales and weights, the control of manufac-

tories, and the collection of taxes. There were departments to care for sanitation, water-supply, and public works, and careful provision was made for fighting fires. In short, here was a city organized much like our modern cities, and upon a scale of true magnificence, more than two centuries before Christ. Such is the description of Pataliputra given by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos of Syria at the time of Chandragupta, and we may assume that in the time of Asoka it had lost none of its splendor.

7. THE AMALGAMATION OF BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM

It seems strange that an empire so great and founded on such high principles should have disappeared and come to naught. The organization of the government was such that the spirit of its head was conveyed through diverse channels to the people everywhere throughout the land. So long as Asoka ruled, the spirit that informed India was that of right living and right thinking. When he was followed by rulers of the usual selfish and venal type, their spirit was conveyed to the people through the same channels. If Buddhism had remained the same, the old spirit might have been retained, but it hardened into a system of traditional observances. Its growth and vitality were more and more stifled by codes and forms, and it became the religion of a book rather than of the living soul. Every rule of life was referred to the Scriptures for its authority, and innumerable rules sprang up more irksome than those of the Brahmins.

Presented as a stern, ascetic philosophy, it failed to reach and stir the common people, who missed the old concrete images and ceremonials. The great Maurya Empire gradually fell apart, and in its place appeared the Kingdom of Gandhara, under the Turki tribe of the Yueh Chi, with its capital at Peshawar. This kingdom extended through Afghanistan to Bokhara and Kashgar, and included India as far as Benares. Under the rule of Kanishka, the Mahayana Buddhism developed. This was an adaptation to the needs of the common people and a unification system in which the Buddha took his place as the supreme god, while

the old Hindu gods appeared as subordinate deities. Certain followers of Buddha, famous in various localities, were deified and took their place in the Pantheon as Bodhisattvas. Perhaps the most popular of these was Avalokitasvara, the Bodhisattva of Kindness, who was gradually transformed into female form and appeared in China as Kwan Yin.

Among the ancient Buddhist paintings discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in western China is one of Avalokitasvara representing the manifestation of the divine kindness. He is enthroned above all the earth, a figure with 1,000 hands in each of which is an eye, indicating all-seeing helpfulness. Two hands hold up a column of spiritual light, rainbow-hued, which illumines the world. Other hands hold the sun, the moon, the clouds, the fruits, the wheel of the law, and other symbols. Some hands drop grains of rice to the souls in hell. Two nagas with serpent hoods support the lotus on which the god sits. On either side of him sit Brahma, Indra, and Siva. The latter is in the cruel form associated with Kali. He is hung with skulls and his six arms brandish weapons against his victims. The sun-god in his chariot with five white horses sits above, and next him the moon-god with his five white geese.

Such a picture serves to show how Buddhism had developed from a simple law of right living to an elaborate amalgamation of gods of all kinds, presented with mystic symbolism, and elaborate ritual.

After the empire of Gandhara collapsed in 220 A. D., there was a period of Aryan revival as against the powers of the Turkis, and the influence of the degenerate Buddhist Sanghas. Another great empire was founded by a second Chandragupta, at Pataliputra in 308 A. D., and what has been called the golden age of Hinduism was inaugurated. Buddhism still remained, and its influence was sufficient to eliminate from Hinduism the grosser elements and particularly the sacrifice of animals. The Brahmins gradually gained more and more control; the caste system was thoroughly re-established and Buddhism, being gradually incorporated in Hinduism, little by little ceased to exist in India

as a separate religion. This was not until after another empire had passed which numbered among its rulers the Buddhist devotee Harsha. India was then divided into many small kingdoms under Rajput rulers, whose incessant feuds broke up all national unity and the country fell an easy prey to the Afghans and Turks who maintained their rule for several centuries.

8. THE UNIFICATION OF ALL RELIGIONS

The Afghans and Turks were conquered in 1400 by the Moguls under Timur, and the same hordes returned under his descendant Babar and established themselves in Delhi. Akbar, the grandson of Babar, who came to the throne in 1556, was a man of a different type from the Afghan kings, and may be considered one of the very few great rulers of mankind. As a mere boy he faced death with reckless courage and put down rebellions that seemed to threaten the complete collapse of his kingdom. He was of middle height and sturdy build, with long arms, a sallow complexion, black eyes and brows, and a wart on his nose, which was considered a great mark of beauty. He had great endurance, and once rode from Ajmere to Agra, 240 miles, in thirty-six hours. His courage was amazing. Once when facing the enemy across the Mahindri River, he induced 100 men to swim the river with him, attacked a force more than ten times as great as his own, and after desperate fighting, put them to flight. He was a famous hunter, a distinguished inventor and a philosopher. His victorious armies conquered the whole of India and he then set himself to unify the spirit of his subjects and to create in them the consciousness that they were one people. He shook himself free from the bigoted Mohammedan doctors of the law and their prejudice and cruelty. He sought counsel from the scholar and philosopher Abul Fazl, from the poet Faizi, from the priests of the Christian missions, and from the Hindu gurus.

In the beautiful royal city he built at Fatehpur Sikri can still be seen the council-room where he sat on the top of a column in the middle of the hall, connected with the seats

of his councillors in the corners by four bridges, and consulted concerning religion with Brahmin philosophers, Portuguese missionaries, Magian fire-worshippers, Buddhist monks, and Mohammedan doctors, becoming more and more interested in the noble things in their faiths and more and more disgusted with the violence of their prejudices.

He received with favor the great Hindu rajahs and gave them high appointments and in order to overcome prejudice and to pass, himself, the emotional barriers that divided his people he took as his wife, in addition to the Mohammedan sultana, a Hindu princess, daughter of the Rajah of Amber and sister of his companion-in-arms, Bhagwan Das. He married also an Armenian Christian, and a Persian, together with women of other races, and it was said his harem was like a parliament of religions. He abolished the unjust poll-tax on unbelievers and the tax on Hindu pilgrims. At the same time he sought to prevent harmful practices among the Hindus. He forbade child marriage, trial by ordeal, and animal sacrifices, and opposed the burning of widows. When the Mohammedan doctors sought to prevent his liberal measures by quoting their authorities and thwarted his plans for unification by their prejudices he had an edict published and signed by his counsellors declaring that "the authority of the just king is above that of the doctors of the faith," and that opposition to him would insure damnation. Thus, like Henry the Eighth, he made himself the head of the religion of the land, with an absolute authority limited only by the Koran itself. He then set himself to consider what religion would unite all these diverse peoples. He had come to feel that the God behind all religions was the same God. Abul Fazl had said: "Oh God! in every temple I see those who seek Thee, and in every tongue that is spoken Thou art praised. Polytheism and Islam grope after Thee. Each religion says: 'Thou art one, without equal.'"

Like Akhnaton he chose the sun as the symbol of creative power, "adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures time." He saw that in order to unify his people they must not only worship one God, but they must also rever-

ence their ruler as the representative of God. To accomplish this without giving offense to strict Moslems, he made use of the salutation "Allahu Akbar," which means, "God is great," but can also mean, "Akbar is God." The response was, "Jalla Jalaluh," "His glory is glorious," which might also refer to Akbar's name, Jalaladdin. When he stood forth in the great mosque at Fatehpur, clad in the radiant robes of the sun, and read the Khutba, and all the multitude responded, "Allahu Akbar," they might well have been stirred to reverent adoration and have felt in their hearts, "Akbar is Lord and God."

It was a noble attempt to unify a great mass of diverse races by stirring their souls with the consciousness that there was one God over them all, and one divine representative who ruled in His stead. It met with more success than the similar attempt of Akhnaton, but failed at last for the same reason. The emotional culture could not be brought to bear upon the great masses of the common people, and the attempt was abandoned by his successors. Aurungzebe at last returned to bigoted Mohammedanism, and in consequence the feud between Hindu and Moslem remains to this day.

In review, it may be said that the history of India supplies more interesting material for the student of emotional cultures than that of any other race. It has the usual features of the family culture, and the system of unification by amalgamation of gods. In addition, there is the caste system, the most perfect example of an effort to preserve racial and cultural purity by an emotional barrier, and the Buddhist democratic culture, which resembles Christianity in its attempt to develop a feeling of universal brotherhood. More remarkable still is the fact that the Indian thinkers have supplied a conception of God which is perhaps better adapted than any other to become the basis of a culture for world unity. They failed to create an emotional culture which could make this conception real to the masses of the people, but this may yet be done by some spiritual leader such as Gandhi.

We find here also the first and perhaps the only attempt to unify the great religions of the world in one system of worship. As one reviews the world's history, it seems that, of all the world's rulers, Akhnaton, Asoka, and Akbar stand by themselves as having thought out and put into practice a plan for world unification of the noblest and highest type. They attempted to bring to mankind a real consciousness of the great God in whom all men are one, and they sought in some real way, by their justice and kindness and truth, to represent that God in their own persons to the people who were their charge. They tried to pierce through the forms and prejudices of religion to its real essence, trusting that when it was understood, the power of the truth would make men one, and it is sad that the old emotional culture of superstition was so strong in the minds of men that all their efforts came to naught.

CHAPTER XI

THE CIVILIZATION OF JAPAN

I. THE CULTURE OF THE SOCIAL SOUL

UNTIL the time of Burbank it was a generally accepted opinion that the form and attributes of each species of plant were fixed by nature. He showed what astounding changes in the shape of a flower and the taste of a fruit can be produced by cultivation. What Burbank did with flowers, Japan has done with human souls. Those who are continually asserting the futility of any attempt to change human nature would do well to spend a few years in studying what Japan has accomplished, and in analyzing the finished product, which is as different from the natural one and as beautiful in its way as any of the astonishing blooms created by the California scientist. The necessity for such treatment is far greater in the case of man than in that of the flower. If a plant is given the right environment and left to itself its own internal forces will produce a form which is beautiful and well adapted to its surroundings. The same is not true of a child. If it grows up uninfluenced and unregulated, to do exactly as it wants, it becomes a most detestable and destructive product. Unregulated impulses spur a man to take what he wants from his neighbor, to strike and kill any who obstruct his path, and to disregard in every way the rights of others. This is because his primary instincts fit him for a predatory life. His social emotions and attitudes are a late and artificial product, the result of being compelled to live in communities with other men. After six millennia, social instincts are still feeble and sporadic compared with the egocentric passions and appetites, and unless the latter are regulated and the social feelings cultivated in the child, he becomes a being incapable of living in harmony with his fellows. The social acts of the average

man are for the most part artificial products, no more the real fruits of his nature than toys and gewgaws and tinsel are the fruit of the Christmas-tree. Altruistic virtues are hung upon man by social compulsion. Every nation and tribe has developed its own method of suppressing the primitive passions and appetites of the individual, where they are harmful to the group, and of compelling acts that are useful to the tribe. This has been done for the most part, as indicated in the preceding pages, by the powerful emotions of fear and shame, which have forced obedience to the commands of rulers and to the customs of the tribe. As a result, the real nature of men has been suppressed and an artificial and unreal nature superimposed upon it. Instead of merely suppressing selfish impulses, Japan sought to cultivate by elaborate emotional cultures a new set of feelings within the man and to throw his whole energy into these, so that at length they blossomed forth into acts which, though cultivated, were nevertheless a true expression of the inner self. In many nations the shears of law and custom so lopped off all the natural feelings of man as to leave a barren stalk, upon which were tied the artificial flowers of ready-made virtues. In Japan the process was more like that made use of in pruning back the stalk of an American Beauty rose until all the energy of the plant goes into one superb blossom.

Nothing was ever nobler or more real in its way than the character of the Samurai, with his exalted loyalty and superb sense of honor; nothing was ever more beautiful than the self-sacrificing sweetness and dignity of the Japanese wife and mother. These fruits certainly did not grow of themselves, though we in America seem to hope that they will do so in our children. They were produced by an emotional culture so carefully regulated and so minutely adjusted that to Occidental minds it seems incredible that any race should ever have submitted to it. The Japanese have succeeded, by infinite care and pains, in regulating the size of a tree and reducing it to minute and exquisite proportions. They have succeeded in shaping it into the form of

a ship or a monument, or into any semblance chosen by the artist, and they were no less successful with the human soul. Before Western civilization with its industrial juggernaut has contemptuously trampled into the dust all the beautiful forms reared by these sculptors in soul stuff, it may be worth while to study their methods, in spite of the mistakes that made them unable to compete with the West, and to make sure that they were not on the right track in their plan of character development. In a greenhouse, by cultivating, fertilizing, and irrigating it is possible to produce quite a different type of bloom from that which appears on the mountainside, less luxuriant and free perhaps in its growth but more exquisite and perfect in its form and fragrance. By providing a definite environment, where a child always meets the same courtesy and dignity and kindness, and is constantly trained to respond to it, quite a new and different nature can be awakened. Emotion creates action, but regulated action or behavior also creates emotion, or at least stabilizes it and makes it permanent.

The great problem in social life is the question as to how far it is necessary and right to sacrifice the individual to the group, or how much of his own liberty each man must surrender for the sake of unity. When the individual is entirely free, there is anarchy. When he is absolutely controlled, there is tyranny. The latter is preferable since it does produce unity, which is impossible with anarchy. There are two types of tyranny: that exercised by one man, or autocracy; and that controlled by the group, or communism. Both aim at complete suppression of the individual. It is impossible for a tyranny to continue long when fear and force are the only means used to control men, and it has been shown how successful monarchies constructed an emotional culture which developed in the people a passionate devotion to the ruler and made them willing to give their lives in his service or be cut to pieces at his command. This was done in Japan more successfully perhaps than in any other land. The peculiar characteristic of Japan, however, is not the autocratic domination of any one man, but

the control of the group by itself. Each group regulated itself and enforced its own customs and rules far more effectively than it could be done by the laws and officials of the government. The individual was apparently not controlled to any great extent by force or fear of public opinion. He did not seem to wish to act contrary to the will and custom of the community, any more than does the individual bee or ant. The individualistic passions that are so harmful to the group seem largely to have ceased to exist and their energy to have been diverted to the expression of reverence, loyalty, and mutual helpfulness. As just stated, this was accomplished by an emotional culture which in its meticulous detail and comprehensive demands has never been equalled by any other nation. Its strength lay in the fact that, by means of it, social virtues and acts became a real expression of the nature of the people, cultivated indeed, but not artificial. Its weak point is that every such act, instead of being free and impulsive, is standardized and conventionalized. In an earlier chapter, attention was called to the fact that rudeness in Japan is defined as acting otherwise than is expected of you. Everything, therefore, is done because it is expected, and even a kind act, if unexpected, might be considered rude. The forms in which emotion must express itself are all defined by custom. They are exquisite and beautiful, and in this way much that is crude and ugly and unjust and unfair is prevented. On the other hand, it means the sacrifice of all those free and impulsive expressions of deep feeling that we feel to be so vital to happiness and progress. Even so we have much to learn from Japan, and it may be that the complete conventionalization of emotion is not an essential of the system and that it might be possible to adopt its advantages without its limitations. At any rate, it is of importance to consider the methods made use of by the Japanese.

2. THE FAMILY UNIFICATION CULTURE

The culture by which the sense of group unity was developed and maintained was similar to that already described

as existing among the Chinese and Hindus and early Romans. The family does not disintegrate at the death of the father, whose influence and commands had held it together, because he continues to exist not merely as a spirit, as the Chinese believed, but as a god, which added great emotional force to his influence. If his character is bad, he becomes a bad god, but his influence as the basis of unity is preserved. A tablet in his memory is set up on the sacred shelf or shrine which exists in every home, and prayers and offerings are made to him every day. The five or six immediate family ancestors are all represented on this shelf by tablets. The names of those more remote are inscribed on scrolls. The authority of the father and the devotion of the family to him and their unity in him endure for generations. The effect of this is that every act of the family life becomes religious; that is to say, it is done as an act of devotion to the gods or family ancestors, and is powerfully emotionalized by the culture of the family shrine, which keeps alive a spirit of deep reverence and ardent affection for the heads of the family. Thus the whole of daily life becomes a ritual and every act is conducted with a ceremonial dignity such as we would think appropriate to a church service. The father or oldest brother is the priest or representative of the gods, and each member of the family has his definite rank and precedence. The father must be saluted by certain prescribed obeisances and phrases. The family meal is a ritual in which every movement is regulated. The head of the fish must go to the father, and the tail to the most insignificant member. Every important family has certain heirlooms, such as ancient swords and armor, banners, and robes. A ceremonial is held on certain days, at which reverence is done these sacred relics by the heads of the family, who alone may see and touch them. Every family has its own culture and customs, which embrace every act of daily life, all of which are done as acts of worship and obedience to the gods. Lafcadio Hearn says:

“To forget or neglect them [the family ancestors], to treat them with rude indifference, is the proof of an evil

heart; to cause them shame by ill-conduct, to disgrace their name by bad actions, is the supreme crime. They represent the moral experience of the race: whosoever denies that experience denies them also, and falls to the level of the beast, or below it. They represent the unwritten law, the traditions of the commune, the duties of all to all: whosoever offends against these, sins against the dead. And, finally, they represent the mystery of the invisible: to Shinto belief, at least, they are gods."

It would seem that in such a system the father would be supreme, and in a certain sense this is so. His command must be obeyed, even in the sacrifice of life itself. He holds all the family property. But he holds his position as representative of gods who are interested in the whole family and its perpetuation and not at all in individuals. Hence, he really represents the whole family. He cannot decide matters of importance by his own whim or wish, even when they are his personal concerns. A council of the family must be called to decide all such matters and he acts merely as their agent. The marriage of any person is not an individual matter, as it affects the future of the family. It is arranged by the family council and the individual is notified of their decision. Every girl is so trained that she is prepared to give all the affection and loyalty of her heart to the man whom the family selects for her. If a man shows so much affection for his wife that he is in danger of neglecting the interests of the family, the family council has the right to divorce his wife. The wife leaves her own family and is adopted into that of her husband and accepts its gods in place of her own, and becomes subject to its rule.

In *A Daughter of the Samurai*, a Japanese girl describes how, after her husband's death in America, she returned to his family in Japan, and was obliged to consult the family council as to whether her girls should be educated or not, as to what school they should attend, what clothes they should wear, and where they should live. The individual counts for nothing. The family is all. This creates an attitude toward life entirely different from ours. Here each

individual claims certain privileges and a certain position, as an inherent right. There the position of a woman, for example, depends almost entirely upon her ability to win affection. If she can win love and confidence, she then has privileges, which are not a right, but a reward. It may be that the Japanese are wise in assuming that society owes nothing to the individual and that he can expect to receive no recognition until he has shown that he possesses qualities that are socially desirable. The disadvantages of the complete subjection of the individual to the family are sufficiently obvious. There was, however, a very real gain to society in such a system. In the first place, such family solidarity meant mutual helpfulness. Each individual was sure of aid and support as the reward of his obedience. More important than this was the function of the family as an emotional culture to transmit and hand down all that was finest in the ideals and feelings of the race. Lafcadio Hearn says:

"In a well-conducted household, where every act is performed according to the old forms of courtesy and kindness,—where no harsh word is ever spoken,—where the young look up to the aged with affectionate respect,—where those whom years have incapacitated for more active duty, take upon themselves the care of the children, and render priceless service in teaching and training,—an ideal condition has been realized. The daily life of such a home,—in which the endeavour of each is to make existence as pleasant as possible for all,—in which the bond of union is really love and gratitude,—represents religion in the best and purest sense; and the place is holy. . . ."

3. THE UNIFYING FORCES OF THE COMMUNITY

Powerful as was the family culture, by itself it could never create a nation or even a united district. Another culture similar in character was needed to hold the families together in a community or clan. At the beginning of reliable history we find Japanese families grouped in tribes or clans, of which there were then 1,182. Each of these had

a common ancestor or tribal god, and a clan temple which presumably was the house in which that ancestor had once lived. It is probable that each village or district of the city was originally composed of the descendants of one man, although other residents were later adopted into the clan and accepted the god as their ancestor. On holy days every family was expected to send at least one representative to the temple to take part in the ceremonial in honor of the god, which was conducted in the same spirit of reverence and devotion and joy cultivated in the family religion. Every baby must be presented to the god of the district one month after birth, and placed under his protection. Every man in returning to his native town pays his first call upon the god, as he would upon the father of the family. Prayer is made to the god for everything affecting the welfare of the community. His help is asked in time of warfare, sickness, or famine, and his aid is invoked to secure good crops.

The culture acts not only as a unifying force that holds the families together; the clan organization also serves as a superior administration which corrects any defects in the management of the families. Children are not left entirely at the mercy of their parents. If the father of a family is tyrannous and unjust, his conduct is controlled by the community, and he is called to order in the name of the tribal god. On the other hand, if he is weak and his children are disobedient, the community holds them to their duties, and compels the wayward and selfish individual to support his family. The head man has no patriarchal authority. He is elected to enforce the public will. Each group of families or kumi had its code or customs or kumicho. Some of these customs were commanded by the daimio or shogun but most of them seem to have been the expression of the will of the community. Professor Wigmore in his *Notes on Land Tenure and Local Institutions* quotes a long list of such rules from the kumicho. They exact respect to parents and kindness in all family relations. They prohibit laziness, quarrelling, rude speech, immoral plays. They make the community responsible for the good behavior of

any lawless member. The conduct of each individual was judged by all, and to a certain extent his time, wealth, and effort belonged to all. This sounds like modern communism, but in their spirit and mainspring of action no two systems could be farther apart. Communism is an economic and political theory, and the sharing of possessions is enforced by law. The Japanese community is a religious growth. It is based on common descent from a god and devotion to his will. This will, expressed in their customs, is enforced not by a court and officers, but by the feelings of the people. The controlling element is religious devotion and not economic theory. Any one who deliberately transgresses the code is cut off from the community. He ceases to be akin to his family, and becomes an alien. In Japan this was a very terrible penalty. The only recognized basis of unity in the community was kinship. When the tie with his own family and village was broken, there was no possibility that a man would find a place anywhere in the social system. No other family would receive him, no community would employ him. He became an outcast and an enemy. There is a large group of outcasts known as the Eta, who are not received by the other Japanese. They live apart in their own communities, but an outcast who had been expelled from his clan would find no place among them, for they are as strictly organized as their superiors. The ostracized man must become one of the Hinin, or wandering beggars, who are not counted as human at all, and are spoken of as "things" and not people. For a custom broken, or harm done through stupidity, the community administers hard knocks and severe punishment, but not ostracism. The officers of the law were seldom invoked to punish offenders. The offense was against the god and the god punished. Often nothing would be done until the festival of the god and then when the procession set forth, with a group of devotees dancing wildly at its head, it would sway toward the house of the offender, crash against the walls, and enter the doors, utterly demolishing all at hand. It was the god who had seen and warned the offender in this manner.

Such as failed to aid their relatives in time of trouble were punished in this fashion. The significant feature of Japanese life is then that each community maintains its emotional culture of devotion to the clan god and that this culture holds the tribe together and enforces its customs and code without the necessity of any appeal to the machinery of the law or to any superior authority, simply by the feelings which it arouses and maintains in the people.

4. THE NATIONAL CULTURE

Apparently in the early days there was continual warfare between the various clans, each of which had its chief or daimio, who was the representative of the clan god. At length, one clan established its supremacy over the others, and this supremacy was maintained by means of a national unification culture. The successful clan claimed as its first ancestor the Sun-Goddess, and she became the chief national god. The emperor or Mikado himself came to be regarded as the god of all the living. His palace was the national sanctuary and holy of holies. In it was the "Place of Awe," the private shrine, where the imperial ancestors were worshipped by the court. In addition, there was a public shrine at Ise, where every Japanese was supposed to worship once in his lifetime. A tablet representing the imperial ancestors was placed in every home shrine, and every individual by means of this culture was made to feel his unity with the imperial family and his duty to revere and obey them. The Mikado was hedged about with such ceremonial that he became a mere figurehead, and in becoming a god, ceased to be a ruler. The government was controlled by the Shogun, the warlike head of one of the leading families, but the Mikado remained a god and an object of worship to all the people, and did not lose his prestige as seemed to be the case with the Roman "rex" when he became a mere priest. There has never been a nation where the national culture was maintained with such reverence and devotion. The Shinto form of worship is very simple, but very sincere. The worshipper first washes his hands and rinses his

mouth. Then, standing outside, he turns to the sun and claps his hands, saying: "Hail to thee, August One." After worshipping the imperial ancestors by his obeisance to the sun, he may enter his house and worship before the tablets at the shrine. In the Shinto temples everything is very simple and archaic. The priests wear white robes and tall caps of ancient form. The fire may be kindled only by the primitive means of the fire-drill. There are no images, but only the metal mirror and the ancient sword, whose meaning is lost in antiquity. All the great Shoguns, such as Ieyasu and Iemitsu are deified and worshipped in special temples, and there are other Shinto gods that are worshipped generally throughout the nation. Patriotism and devotion to the imperial family is, therefore, the chief religion of the Japanese, and it is thus that their national solidarity was maintained in a fashion that seems unique.

5. THE CULTURE OF RESPECT

Attention has been called to certain communistic features in the Japanese system. In spite of such democratic organization the people were divided into classes and the lines between their various subdivisions were emphasized by a culture almost as rigid as that of the Hindu castes. Each man had his definite place in the social system, and its order was maintained by a culture of respect which prescribed the exact terms in which each man must greet his superior, or be treated by his inferior. Each class has a form of the pronoun "I," which indicates the position which the speaker holds in the social scale. There are sixteen different forms of "you," to be used according to the grade of the person addressed. Each grade of farmer had prescribed for him the size of his house, the dress he should wear, down to the smallest detail, the food he should eat, the presents he should make at weddings or birthdays, and the dishes he should provide at feasts. Such regulation had its beneficent side and prevented a poor man from ruining himself in his efforts to provide hospitality, or to vie with his betters, and possibly we would be happier were some such rule in force

limiting the amount to be expended on wedding and Christmas presents, and forcing a man to keep the furnishings of his house or of his automobile proportionate to his income.

The surprising thing about this culture with its "ferocity of detail," as Hearn phrases it, was that it was enforced not by law, but by the feeling and will of the people. The result of the constant voluntary application of this culture of reverence and courtesy was a real transformation of character. The forms of unselfishness and consideration for others were cultivated until the feelings that naturally went with them became a permanent characteristic of the people. No man must obtrude his own pain or sorrow on his neighbor, and no matter how keenly he suffers from the loss of a child or the anguish of a wound, he must greet his friend with a smile. Moreover, the smile must not be forced, but real. So in service, he must not merely render sullen obedience, but he must show pleasure in serving. This inevitably has its effect. As Hearn says, "It is scarcely possible to obey faithfully all these rules of social behavior, and remain a bad man." Conduct long practised becomes instinctive. Other nations by enforcing their laws produced a morality which was artificial and external, and opposed to their inner nature. The Japanese claim to have changed their nature. Mabuchi says: "The Chinese are bad at heart. They are good only on the outside. Their bad acts threw society into disorder. The Japanese, being straightforward, could do without teaching." In other words, the feelings of the Japanese directed them rightly and they were self-regulating. Perhaps the secret of this is found in his exhortation: "Learn to stand in awe of the unseen; that will prevent you from doing wrong." This culture, which cultivates the sense of their gods and heroes as present with them, is the underlying force that shapes their social life.

6. THE SAMURAI

The failure of most Occidental governments is due to the fact that those who hold the governing power prove unworthy of the trust put upon them. When power is given

them by the people, they use it for their own selfish ends, instead of for the public good. This failure is due to lack of the right emotional training. They are still animals, with predatory instincts and individualistic feelings, and have not developed the emotions essential to group welfare. It has been shown that with men of this type the best form of government is the patriarchal, where unity is compelled by fear and awe, and which is so cleverly arranged that the self-seeking instincts of the ruler or king work to the advantage of the group—since the wealth and display he seeks add to his prestige, and assist him in governing. When there is more than one ruler, such instincts are disastrous to the group and in a democracy they are fatal. It was more by chance than intent that the Anglo-Saxons built up a ruling class in which emotions of value to the group, such as public spirit and a sense of honor, came to be predominant. It is strange to discover that a nation where government was of the absolute patriarchal type should have developed a culture designed to produce in their ruling class these emotions which are so essential to democracy. This is so striking an achievement that H. G. Wells in outlining an ideal democratic government has taken over this idea of the Japanese, and suggested that the ruling class should consist of what he terms "voluntary Samurai." In other words, any who were willing to submit to such a discipline and emotional culture as was applied in Japan to the Samurai, would qualify as rulers. This seems a most intelligent suggestion, and as it might well solve the difficulties of a democracy, it is important to study the Japanese method, and to note what they accomplished in creating a class which was competent to rule.

The Japanese were divided into four main classes—the Samurai, or nobles; the farmers, who as producers were next in importance to the community; the artisans; and, finally, the merchants, who produced nothing and sought only their own gain, so that no matter how much wealth they acquired they were always regarded as base and inferior. The true Samurai was entirely indifferent to gain,

and regarded it as a disgrace to handle money. All his financial affairs he turned over to his servants. His whole life was surrounded by ceremonials which built up and nurtured family pride and a sense of honor. He wore two swords, one of which was peculiarly the symbol of his honor, since with it he dealt himself the death-stroke if his word or his courage was ever doubted by his superiors. At a critical point in the Russian War, when the Japanese admiral wished to tell his officers that it was necessary for them to conquer or die, he summoned them to his room, where on a table before them lay the sword of the Samurai. He spoke no word. The symbol was sufficient. They saw and understood, and went out in silence to give their lives for their country.

The costume of the Samurai had its symbolic significance, and set him apart from other men: the crested war-hat and lacquer-scaled breast-plate, the iron war-fan, and the "Sahai," or stick with its dangling papers, used to guide his men. Each family had its crest, which was worn by the chief and all his retainers and was treated with the utmost reverence; a girl betrothed to a man with the plum for his crest could never think of eating plum jam, which would be a deadly insult to the honor of his family. Each family had its treasures, which were kept sealed in a sacred box, and taken out and viewed once a year in a ceremonial of worship by the heads of the family. These were articles belonging to their ancestors, or awards won by them for high courage and loyalty. Mrs. Sugimoto in *A Daughter of the Samurai* gives the best possible picture of this emotional culture and its effects, and any one desirous of understanding it can do no better than to read her book. She describes the awe with which her family regarded the sahai presented to their ancestor on the battle-field by the deified shogun Ieyasu, and how their retainers begged tiny pieces of the dangling papers to eat as a cure. In this sacred box were also kept the ancient robes and fan and cap worn by the Daimio when he officiated as high priest in the temple of his ancestors, which articles were all supposed to possess divine power (page 310).

Every Samurai also kept a "head bucket." If guilty of an unlawful act, instead of being summoned to court and executed, he was allowed to send his head in the bucket to the authorities, as a sign that he had complied with the law, and thus his honor was preserved. It was the recognized duty of a Samurai to kill himself at the word of command, or whenever personal honor or the will of a high lord might require it. Samurai women performed jigai (cutting the throat with a dagger) as a moral protest against shameless conduct on the part of their lord. Mrs. Sugimoto, owing to peculiar circumstances, was brought up like a Samurai boy. Her father was kind and gentle, and adored by his daughter, but he was absolutely unyielding in his adherence to the Samurai code. If she was inclined to weep under the sternness of the discipline, she was gently told that "the eyelids of the Samurai know not moisture." Education was truly a part of religion. The schoolroom was a shrine where incense burned before the picture of Confucius. The teacher was a priest of learning, and every act was part of a ritual. The six-year-old child had to sit in the correct position on her heels for two hours, without moving the fraction of an inch. Once, when her knee slipped under the strain, she was sent from the room in disgrace. The studies were arranged as a test of endurance. The hardest task was set for the coldest day of the year. The child wrote in a room without fire. The implements of penmanship were sacred, and she was obliged to go out and gather a handful of untouched snow to make the ink. Her fingers were frozen before the task was complete. When her mother protested, her father said: "We must not forget the teaching of the Samurai. The lioness pushes her young over the cliff and watches it climb slowly back from the valley, without one sign of pity, though her heart aches for it. Thus only can it gain strength for its life-work."

When a girl was betrothed, a new discipline began to fit her to be mistress of a home. For months every minute of her life was filled with training and preparation, in cooking

and serving, in the arranging of flowers and serving of tea, all of which was done as if her husband were actually present and she were seeking his comfort in every act. Then she was sent forth with these words: "Remember, where you live is a small matter. The life of a Samurai is just the same, loyalty to the overlord; bravery in defense of his honor. In your distant home remember: loyalty to your husband, bravery in defense of his honor. It will bring you peace." This spirit of loyalty was carried through the whole of society. It became, in truth, a religion. Hearn says: "Everywhere there was trust because everywhere there existed the like sentiment of mutual duty between master and servant. Each industry and occupation had its religion of loyalty—requiring on the one side absolute obedience and sacrifice at need; on the other, kindness and aid, and the rule of the dead was over all."

Behind this culture of the Samurai, and the mainspring of it all, was the belief that the spirits of their ancestors still lived to watch over, direct, and help them. No more beautiful picture can be imagined than that in which Mrs. Sugimoto shows her family preparing for the feast of O Shorai Sama, when the spirits of all their ancestors returned to visit the house. The care with which the old ceremonial was arranged, the joy with which all participated in it, the happy assurance it gave that their father and dear ones were sure to give them love and guidance, make evident the tremendous power of this culture to preserve the spirit of family unity and its traditions of honor.

It is possible that the results of this culture have been exaggerated in such works as the Bushido. It seems probable, however, that it did succeed in producing a type of character which was heroic in its devotion and loyalty. Such absolute renunciation of selfish feeling, such triumph over fear and pain as seem to have characterized the life of the true Samurai, have seldom been seen elsewhere in the world's history. The culture was directed to produce loyalty to the overlord and a willingness to sacrifice all for him,

rather than loyalty to the group as a whole, which is what is required of democratic rulers. It illustrates, however, what a persistent culture can do to overcome those self-seeking feelings and instincts that can prove so harmful in community life.

It is now possible to understand what Mr. Wells means in suggesting a culture of this type for the governing class in a democracy. In his plan, the ruling class was to be composed of those who volunteered to submit themselves to a certain code of discipline, which involved the conquest of selfish appetites and self-indulgence, and which prescribed certain definite lines of culture. In addition to such special education and discipline, and in order to develop the poise and independence of a superior character, each man was to spend a certain period of each year entirely alone in some wild spot, away from civilization and the haunts of men, where he could commune with nature in solitude and learn to be independent of the society of others and the comforts of life. The difficulty in Mr. Wells's plan is that Western nations lack an essential of the Japanese culture. With the Japanese, the great emotional power of the culture came from their belief in communion with the spirits of their ancestors, who were constantly with them to inspire loyalty to the traditions of the past. For such a culture to succeed in dominating the powerful selfish desires and appetites, it would seem that some such vital religious element must be present in it. It is difficult to devise an adequate substitute for this. Whether meditation on the virtues of national heroes or on national ideals would be sufficient is doubtful. The most powerful emotions are personal, and it would seem that great devotion must always be inspired by personal relationship of some kind. Here lies the great difficulty in providing an adequate culture in a democracy. Our rulers are the servants of the nation, and the general public does not inspire the same devotion which is aroused by a king or a hero. Unless some culture of this sort is attempted, however, it is probable that democracy will end in failure, for it

cannot be doubted that the success of democracy depends upon its ability to produce a ruling class with the loyalty and sense of honor that characterized the Samurai.

7. THE JAPANESE CULTURE AND THE UNIVERSAL RELIGIONS

So far we have been studying the ancient culture peculiar to Japan, which is commonly termed the Shinto religion. This was destined to come in contact with certain of those universal religions which swept over the face of the world. Nothing is more interesting, or surprising, than the effect which these religions produced upon the various nations which they inundated. In many cases they brought inspiration, moral progress, and a better social order, but occasionally they produced ruin and disaster, and the destruction of civilization. What then was the cause of this surprising difference in the effect produced? It appears that when there existed in a nation a definite social and religious culture by which the people were unified, the entrance of a new religion was likely to prove most disastrous, since it tended to break up the old system and was not strong enough to replace it with anything of equal value. Whenever the new religion adopted the social order and religious ideas created by the old, and sought merely to add some higher conception of God and the world, it was then probable that the new element would only work for the benefit of civilization. If, however, the new religion, as a primary condition, sought to overthrow the old system and poured contempt and insult upon it, it was then inevitable that there would be strife and warfare, which would tear the country apart, and which might even cause an overthrow of the fundamental ideas and emotions upon which the civilization was based. An emotional culture is something very difficult to build up. It can be shaken and disintegrated by the introduction of violent emotional currents which are antagonistic. Very often the new system has force enough to destroy the old, but lacks the power to build up any culture strong enough to

replace it. It is possible to graft upon an old tree a branch from another fruit-bearing variety, but to attack the old tree with an axe and expect the new branch to grow without roots is likely to ruin both.

Japan furnishes a good illustration of both the helpful and harmful effect of the universal religions upon a local culture. Buddhism, which came into Japan about 800 A. D., adopted its usual principle, grafting itself upon the national religion, and becoming an ally rather than an enemy of social custom. The early Buddhist teacher, Kukei, harmonized Buddhism with the religion of Japan by his statement that the Shinto gods were incarnations of certain of the Buddhas. Buddhism did not attack the ancestral cult which was at the heart of Japanese civilization, but supported it. Buddhists did not accept the dead ancestors as gods, but in their rite the dead were treated with reverence, and it was intimated that they might ultimately become gods if they were worthy. Buddhism concerned itself mainly with the future life, and taught that every act in this life bears its certain result in future reincarnations. It covered a different field, therefore, and did not antagonize Shintoism. The two religions existed side by side. Each cult was observed in nearly every house, and the gods of Japan and of Buddhism sat side by side on adjacent shelves. The Buddhist priest became a public official, and kept the register of the parish. Buddhism was thus completely identified with the national life; it did not destroy, but it supplemented the religion of Japan and added infinitely to its beauty and kindliness.

As a religion, Buddhism was, then, infinitely helpful. It was when it sought to become a political system that it failed. The Buddhist monks attempted to gain control of the government, and in the time of Nobunaga they had organized armies powerful enough to enable them to dominate a large part of the country. Nobunaga saw that such a division on religious lines would wreck the nation, and that the welfare of the country depended upon its complete unification. The monks of the Tendai sect had aided his enemies, and he attacked and utterly overthrew and destroyed them.

Three thousand fortified monasteries were burned at Hiei San, and all the adherents of the sect were put to death. This is an illustration of the familiar fact that when a secondary religion attempts to gain political control it becomes a dangerous divisive force, and, as such, a good ruler must inevitably seek to exterminate it before it ruins the civilization for which he is responsible.

It was during the rule of Nobunaga that Xavier first brought Christianity to Japan, in 1549. It had an astonishing success at first. Nobunaga favored it as an aid to him against the Buddhists. A number of the Daimios were converted, and forced conversion upon their subjects. Unfortunately Christianity did not show the same tolerance which had characterized the Buddhists. The Christian Daimios were aroused to a crusade against the Buddhists, in which the Christians burned their temples and slaughtered their priests. Hideyoshi, who followed Nobunaga as the leading statesman and general, feared that the Christians would seriously injure the ancient civilization of Japan by their bigoted attacks on the old order. He commanded their priests to leave the country and set out to destroy their churches. The priests disobeyed him and remained. His punishment was summary and severe. He crucified three Franciscan monks, three Jesuits, and a number of other Christian leaders with them. At this point he died and left to Ieyasu, the greatest ruler that Japan has ever had, the problem of dealing with the rebellious Christians. It is stated, probably with some exaggeration, that at this time there were 2,000,000 Christians in Japan. The Jesuits, who had been the first to arrive, were the most tolerant, and probably their great initial success was due to the fact that they accepted the ancestral code and culture, as they had done in China, and, like the Buddhists, sought to supplement it, and not to supplant it. The Franciscans and Dominicans, who followed them, apparently took the opposite ground, and affirmed that the ancestral worship was idolatry, and that the Buddhist gods were false gods. Their programme was to compel each convert to renounce absolutely the re-

ligion of Japan, and not to rest until it was completely overthrown. Such, at any rate, was the impression which Ieyasu gained of them, for he says, in his edict of 1603, that "the Kirishitan," as he terms Christians, "have come to Japan to overthrow the right doctrine, so that they may change the government and gain possession of the land. They are enemies of the gods and the Buddha, and the safety of the state is imperilled by them." The great ruler hesitated long before taking definite action. He evidently did not wish to proceed against the Christians, and dreaded to antagonize, and still more to destroy, so large an element of the population. It was at this time that an Englishman named Will Adams, who had landed from a Dutch ship, was seized and brought before Ieyasu. The Spanish and Portuguese priests, learning of the arrival of a Protestant, brought accusation against him. The suspicion of the shrewd Ieyasu was awakened, and in a number of secret interviews with Adams he inquired as to the purposes and character of the Christian priests as revealed in European history. Adams informed him thoroughly of the horrors of the religious wars fought to secure the supremacy of the priests, of the thousands burned at the stake and tortured to death in the Inquisition, and of the slaughter and enslavement of the Incas and Aztecs and Caribbees in the name of Christianity. Ieyasu decided that if the priests gained a footing in Japan he might expect similar results, and that disorganization would be inevitable, if his subjects were taught to obey a prince in Rome. A few plots against the government, organized by Christians, brought him to a definite decision. He was no man for half measures, and Christianity was brought to an end in Japan by slaughter, persecution, and torture so terrible that few events in history compare with it in horror; for the Japanese, once converted, brought to Christianity the loyalty developed by their ancient culture, and were torn in pieces rather than renounce their faith. Ieyasu determined that if the religions of the Western world were of the type described by Adams, and threatened his subjects with such hideous disaster as had been brought upon Europe

and America by the Spanish and Portuguese priests, he would close the gates of his empire to all European influence. From that day until the visit of Commodore Perry the gates of Japan were barred against all outsiders.

How far a religion can honestly go in modifying its principles to combine with another system is a difficult question. Such a combination may cause a loss from the standpoint of absolute truth. On the other hand, from the point of view of civilization, nothing can be more disastrous than to introduce a conflicting emotional culture into a country where such a system is already established. The more powerful the new culture is, the greater will be the disaster. If nations are to be converted it can be done more safely and profitably by raising the ideas they already possess to higher powers than by first seeking to knock from under the people the whole foundation on which their religion and social order are built.

Now that the barriers are down once more, it will be interesting to see whether Christianity will prove helpful or harmful to the beautiful and extraordinary civilization that has developed for so many centuries undisturbed by the conflicting cultures of the outside world. It may add a new and more exquisite beauty to the old loyalties, or it may undermine their sanctions and leave them with what is merely a cheap imitation of European civilization.

CHAPTER XII

CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA

I. EXPERIMENTS THAT FAILED

It is strange that although civilization found its first great development in Africa, that continent to-day should afford only examples of tribes that have failed to produce any notable civilization. Many of these tribes are so closely similar to the ancient Egyptians that the reliefs of 4,000 years ago might easily be recognized as their portraits. It is difficult therefore to assert that their failure was due to lack of brain, since they seem to have the same equipment as that possessed by those tribes of the Nile valley who built up a civilization that is still the wonder of the world. It is therefore possible to assert that they failed because they developed no emotional culture that could hold large numbers together in unity. Individual chiefs or kings conquered large sections of territory, but their empires fell to pieces swiftly because they had no means of creating a sense of unity in the people. In general, it may be said that those tribes are largest and most advanced who have the most adequate emotional cultures. Abyssinia, which early adopted Christianity and used its culture to support the throne, is the only independent kingdom in Africa, and one of the three autocratic monarchies that still exist in the world. The people are closely similar to the Galla tribes, who have no such emotional culture and have developed no unity or civilization. It would appear to be the throne culture, supported by Christianity, that has made the Abyssinians what they are.

2. THE PIGMIES

At the lowest point in the scale are the pigmies, who roam the Congo forests without settled habitation, living on

wild vegetables and the quarry achieved by their tiny bows and poisoned arrows. Of all the types of emotional culture mentioned in this book, they possess not a single one. They have no dress or ornaments or tribal markings; they have apparently no customs or laws that can be recognized as such; they have no religion, and they have not even a language of their own, but adopt the language of the nearest settled tribe. At the same time they are said to be markedly intelligent. They have no interest in any of the things pertaining to civilization. The only way in which the author could lure them from the forest, in order to catch sight of them, was by the promise of salt. They seemed to resent the gifts of necklaces and ornaments that had been prepared for them. A Buddhist might assert that they had attained a higher grade of individual development in thus asserting their independence of the material world, but he would have to admit that they had no civilization.

From the pigmies up, the civilization of the various African tribes would seem to be measured by the amount of emotional culture they have developed.

3. THE NEGROES

The natives of West Africa are somewhat above the pigmies in the scale of progress. They are the real negroes, with flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair, though there is some admixture with the Bantu stock in the south, and with the Hamitic in the north. Although they are ruled by chiefs, they still show remnants of the old matriarchal system. The children belong not to the father but to the maternal uncle; and it is from him that the bride must be purchased. Many tribes are divided into totem clans, which pay honor in the usual fashion to the totem animal. The people are just emerging from the stage where crime is controlled by the miasma system, through taboos and fetiches. A tuft of leaves stuck in the door will protect a man's valuables from all housebreakers; a bag of charms about her neck will preserve the virtue of a girl where she would otherwise be

liable to constant assault. But in addition to this primitive method the negroes have instituted courts of their own, where crimes are judged according to their own law, and severely punished. Each village has its head man, or chief, and usually a council of elders, and no stranger may enter without their consent. Their religion is little more than animism. In common with most of the natives of Africa, they consider the world of spirits to be much more real and potent than that of material things. Nearly every object and animal is inhabited by a spirit, and all natural phenomena are controlled by such supernatural influences. Powerful spirits may be confined in objects, which thus become charms or fetiches. The wizard or priest of each village has power to communicate with these spirits, and also with the spirits of the dead, and therefore has control over nature, and even more influence than the chief. The people usually bring offerings to the spirits of the dead, but this custom was never developed into a unifying ancestral culture that would hold together large numbers, as in China or Japan, or among many of the primitive races of Europe. There was nothing in the belief in scattered spirits which could be of value as a religious culture to unite a nation. When Stanley first descended the Congo he found each village against the next, and no man dared cross the boundary into the land of his neighbors. At times some chief would conquer a number of neighboring tribes and hold them by fear and force, but such little empires soon broke up, as there was no means to develop any consciousness of unity, or to create reverence for the chief of one tribe among the people of any other tribe. If each village had had a definite tribal god it might have been possible to amalgamate them, as was done in Egypt, but the various spirits were too indefinite to lend themselves to any such process. Fetichism provided just enough emotional culture to unite one village, keep the people obedient to its laws, and create a feeling of reverence for the wizard and the chief whom he supported, but it tended to create a barrier between it and every other village. No real unifying emotional culture had been invented by the negroes.

4. THE BANTU RACE

The tribes of the great Bantu race of South Central Africa come next in the scale. They are thought by some to be a mixture of the negro and the North African or Hamitic types. Their culture is similar to that of the negro, but they have certain marked racial characteristics. One of these is the language, which in certain general features, such as the division of nouns into classes and their modification by means of prefixes, is similar in all the Bantu tribes. They make use of tribal markings and ornaments, which have a certain value in unification. Their religion is similar to that of the negroes, but they have been more successful in applying it as a means to cultivate reverence for the chief, who ordinarily has very great prestige, since he is himself in communication with the spirits, and gives his commands by their direction. They have priests, or wizards, like the negroes, but the chief himself is often a wizard also. Even when he is not, the culture seems to have been so developed that it is more centralized in the chief, and continually adds to the reverence felt for him. But at best it is only a faint shadow of the wonderful unification culture of Egypt, where the religion and whole life of the nation was made to centre in the king. We find among these Bantu, however, some very large tribes held together with a fair amount of unity. The Zulus are, perhaps, the finest example of the Bantu, and the most successful in building up an empire. The genius of Chaka in organizing and training his warriors was the foundation of the Zulu power, but the emotional culture was not applied with sufficient skill to insure its permanence. Another reason for the superior success of the Bantus is, perhaps, that they have developed further on patriarchal lines. In most of their tribes the children belong to the father and not to the mother. Exogamy is usual, and a man must choose his wife from some other clan than his own. Though the family is now patriarchal, it is evident that the children originally belonged to the mother's tribe, for at present, both among the Bantu and the Nilotic tribes, the

husband, in order to own the children, purchases the wife's child-producing power from her father. If she fails to produce children she can be returned, and her price must be restored. Most tribes have a fixed price in terms of cows, goats, hoes, or money, but in some places the price varies with the social position of the girl. The custom acts as a sort of insurance for the wife, and usually secures good treatment for her, for if she is ill-treated she can return to her father, and the bride price is forfeited. Descent is traced through the father, though there is evidence that the descent was originally matrilinear. Frazer calls attention to the fact that an ancient system often survives in the royal family when it has been outgrown elsewhere. The King of Uganda told the author that he belonged to his mother's clan, that of the bushbuck, while all his subjects belong to the clans of their fathers. The superiority of the Bantu tribes to the negro seems another illustration of the fact that the further a tribe advances in the patriarchal culture, the more successful is its unification.

5. THE NILOTIC AND HAMITIC TRIBES

In North Central Africa and along the Nile are tribes that are markedly superior to the usual Bantu type and more akin to the Abyssinian. Among these are the Masai, the Bahima, the Watusi, the Dinkas, and the Shilluks. They are cattle-breeders and herdsmen, and often resemble strikingly the finest type of ancient Egyptian. It is quite probable that some of them descend from the same ancestral stock. Their features are far removed from the negroid type. The nose is thin and straight, the lips thin and well modelled, the color is often a light chocolate, and the hair is sometimes wavy rather than woolly.

Here again the difference between the tribes seems largely due to the culture they have developed. Frazer states in his book on the kingship that the primitive king had magical powers, or *mana*, and his influence was based on the fact that he communicated this *mana* to the people and warded off from them all forces of evil. The Shilluks, who are a

nation estimated at a million in number, have retained and developed this primitive culture. They are united by their allegiance to the king, who is also the Rainmaker, upon whom they are dependent for the rains and for all the blessings of life. He is responsible for their well-being, and in this respect resembles the old Japanese Mikado. When his powers fail he is removed, so there is no chance for them to lose faith in the office. When he becomes old his wives report to a certain official that he is becoming senile, and it is then open to any man who considers that he has a right to the throne to attack him at night and kill him and take his place. He must then sit up, night after night, fully armed, awaiting the attack that is to end his life. This culture, though it develops enough reverence to hold the nation in a certain unity, is not sufficiently strong to unite them in any great endeavor. One has only to compare it with that of the Japanese to see the difference.

The Dinkas, who closely resemble the Shilluks in appearance, have not developed this culture of the kingship, and although they are more numerous than the Shilluks, they are divided into separate villages which are continually at war with one another. With them and the other Nilotic tribes, the Rainmaker is often a different man from the chief, and as a member of some ancient royal family, has more prestige than the chief himself. This system does not make for unification, and these tribes have not been able to hold together as have the Shilluks.

6. THE MILK CULTURE

In Unyoro the ruling caste is probably of Bahima stock, though there is a certain Bantu element. Partly because of the presence of iron, and their skill as iron-workers, they were able to conquer the neighboring tribes and establish an empire of some size. Their conquests were unified by a most elaborate emotional culture centring in the kingship. In general, the ritual developed by a race depends on the chief interests and pursuits of the people. The people of

Israel, at the time of their kingship, had advanced beyond the herdsman stage and were occupied with the cultivation of the olive. The oil of the olive was therefore an essential element in the coronation of their kings and the consecration of their priests, and has remained in the ritual of the European nations. Since they were cattlemen, the emotional culture of these Central African tribes, like that of the Aryas of India, was based on cows and on milk. Mr. Roscoe, in a recent book, gives a full account of this ritual, obtained from his talks with the last King of Unyoro. The ritual, in its way, must have been as effective as that which surrounded Louis XV. When the Mukama, or king, received his people, he was seated on a leopard-skin throne, wearing the tall, conical crown, and long ceremonial beard of white monkey's hair, and voluminous robes of beautiful bark cloth, surrounded by his crowned counsellors of the Sacred Guild. His robes were decorated by the princesses, and the designs were painted in their own blood. So much blood was used that it took six months to make a robe without killing the princess. The king's life was one long ritual. He slept with his feet on a young girl lest they should be defiled by touching the foot of the bed. At dawn she rose and anointed his great toes with sacred oil. The king then proceeded to his bath. Here two well-trained bulls from the sacred herd had been driven to meet him, one black, and one red-and-black, but both with a white patch on the forehead. The king took the black one by the horns, and placing his head against the white patch on its forehead, he said solemnly: "May the evils of the night pass from my people and my country." He then took the red-and-black bull in the same way, and said: "May all that is good rest upon my people and my country." By this act he broke up any evil influences or dark plans that had been at work during the night and set his people free from them, to begin the day with the assurance of prosperity. The king then, impersonating his people, was cleansed by a ceremonial of purification. His face, hands, and feet were washed, and he was anointed with scented batter. He then took his seat on the

throne and received his friends until it was time for the sacred cows to be milked. He had a black herd, a red herd, a spotted herd, a striped herd, and many others; but one herd was sacred, and from it nine cows were selected to provide the king with milk. It was his duty to watch the milking of the sacred herd. Then, after his meal, he resumed his seat on the throne and judged all cases that were brought for trial. It was then necessary to herd the sacred cows, and the king rose and stepped over the elephant tusk which barred the approach to the throne to all but him. He passed through the seven sacred huts in order, from courtyard to courtyard, until in the last he found awaiting him an old cow, a calf, and a young bull. For twenty minutes he stood and allowed these animals to bask in the divine radiation of his presence.

The theory seems to have been that the king was the channel of divine power, which flowed from him throughout the kingdom. Health, prosperity, and victory all depended on him, and on certain ceremonies which he alone could perform. The divine power was thus communicated to all the herds in the kingdom. He was then occupied with various official duties until four o'clock, the time when the cows were milked. A sacred herald, nine years old, was appointed to bring the nine cows to the king. At the sound of his cry the people hurried out of the way, and knelt as the sacred herd passed. The herd entered the presence of the king through their own special gate, and two milkmen and two milkmaids, with faces whitened by clay until they looked like white dolls, then came, each bearing some sacred utensil—brush, jar, or horn—and the milking was performed with high ceremony. The milk was conveyed to the dairy and prepared by a white-faced dairy-maid. She brought it in and announced: "The milk has come, sire." The king then rose from his throne and the guard called in a loud voice, "The king has gone to drink milk," whereupon the people all knelt, covered their faces and kept silence, knowing that even to clear the throat might bring punishment of death. After handing the king a sacred sponge to wipe his lips, the

milkmaid then gave him the jar of milk, holding a screen before her eyes lest she should commit the sacrilege of beholding the king while he drank. The guard then announced that the people might approach and present their petitions. The princesses then called upon him, after which, at sunset, he visited his wives, and then received accounts of his herds until 9 P. M. He then had to inspect the guards until midnight, after which he slept till 2 A. M., when he was wakened and brought to a chamber adjoining the throne-room, where he spent the rest of the night.

This ritual is distinctly what has been described in this book as an emotional culture. As has been explained it is not enough to have a correct theory of unification, or to hold the right idea of the king's importance. The theory must be so dramatized that all the people are made to feel its reality. This theory that the welfare of the tribe and their herds depended on the king, and that reverence and obedience must therefore be shown him, was dramatized so that every man who saw must have felt it. Nevertheless, the culture is infinitely inferior to that of Egypt, or of any of the great monarchies. It had no religious sanction such as that derived from a great god universally recognized, and was not calculated to inspire awe as did the stately ceremonies of Egypt. Moreover, the milk ceremonial would only be effective with herdsmen, and not with the tribes they conquered.

A difficulty in maintaining an empire has always been that of preserving unity at the death of a powerful king until the new ruler has time to establish his authority. In Unyoro there was an emotional culture to meet this need. After the death of the king and the appointment of a new ruler, the prime minister, or Bamuroga, selected in addition a mock king, and the spirit of the old king was supposed to be incarnate in him. He sat on a throne in the temple of the dead king, and received worship and gifts from all the people. He was regarded as the husband of all the king's widows. The dead king spoke through him, and the new king turned to him for advice. Then at the end of seven days the Bamuroga took him out and strangled him. This seven-

day ceremony was repeated every year till the new king was established.

Among the Bahima of Ankole there was a similar ritual based on milk, though it was not so complicated. When the king died a white cow was killed, and its last milk, duly consecrated, was poured upon his lips. A bride of the Bahima, instead of being presented with a ring, squirted a mouthful of milk over the groom. In every Bahima house was a shrine where, twice a day, an offering was brought to the spirits of the dead. This offering was milk. Like the Masai, the only food of the people was milk, save on special occasions, when a feast of meat was allowed. Among the Masai, before eating meat, it was necessary to purge the system of milk, and even to take an emetic, that the sacred fluid might not be contaminated. The Bahima had no settled habitations but wandered about with their herds. They subjugated, however, various agricultural tribes, such as the Bahera, who are of inferior Bantu stock, and thus created an empire almost as powerful as that of Unyoro. They also had a succession culture. When the king died the head wizard brought out a lion cub, and the people were informed that the spirit of the king was still present in this lion, who was consulted by the wizard on all questions of moment. The king, like the Mukama of Unyoro, was usually married to his half-sister. This was probably a survival of the matriarchal succession. The kingdom of Uganda, which finally defeated that of Unyoro, apparently had no milk ritual, as the people were agricultural rather than bucolic in character. Their empire was founded on force and cruelty, and they maintained it by an elaborate culture of reverence for the king, which is well described in Stanley's account of his meeting with King Mtesa. Uganda had a succession culture involving the preservation of the jaw-bone of the dead king, which spoke to direct the nation in its difficulties.

7. THE WATUSI

The Watusi of Ruanda are similar to the Bahima and Masai and Shilluks. They are tall and fine-featured, with

high-bridged noses and thin lips, with hair which often is wavy rather than woolly, and of a light chocolate-brown color. They have a king, and are more or less independent under Belgian administration. It is a strange fact that nearly all the tribes of Tanganyika and Western Uganda that have reached any size and importance are governed by a ruling caste, or royal family, of these Watusi, though the people themselves belong to the more negroid Bantu stock. This alien family maintains its racial purity by means of the custom of marrying sisters, which is allowed only to royalty, in a land where exogamy is the rule. Whether these Watusi sultans or kings are the remnant of a great Watusi empire, or whether as a superior race they merely came to the top wherever they settled, no one seems to know. It is only recently that the Wa Fipa, of Tanganyika, freed themselves from this alien control. Wherever the Watusi rule they have developed some sort of culture of reverence for the sultan or king.

In general one may conclude, from the peoples of Africa, that tribes increase and prosper in accordance with the efficiency of their emotional culture, and that although some very ingenious cultures have been developed in Africa, none has yet appeared of sufficient power and universality to hold vast numbers together in harmony until a high quality of civilization could be produced. If it could be proved that the people of the upper Nile are of the same stock and intelligence as the ancient Egyptians, it might then be possible to claim that it was the emotional culture of Egypt that caused one branch of the race to produce a high civilization while the rest remained mere savages. As this cannot be definitely proved, we must rest content to assert its probability.

PART II
THE FRATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

PECULIARITIES OF THE FRATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

I. WILL IN PLACE OF AUTHORITY AS THE BASIS OF UNITY

No plan could have been better adapted for building up a vast empire and civilization than the old patriarchal system, accompanied by the ingenious devices of the kingship and the amalgamation of gods. Each patriarchal group clung about its god as bees around their queen, and could be shifted into new group relations by moving the god into a new family. Each group was controlled in its purpose and action through the office of kingship, which was like a central telephone-office, with wires to every post in the nation. The conqueror had only to slip into the place of the former king and he could bring his will to bear upon every section of the conquered country. To take the king's place he had merely to prove himself the representative of the national god by some one of the devices recorded above. Every conqueror who was a statesman used these devices to the full, and thus created out of a congeries of antagonistic tribes an empire, held together not by force but by a sense of unity which centred in the throne.

Although most primitive groups were organized on the patriarchal plan, there were certain tribes that at a very early date adopted the fratriarchal system. As stated in the first chapter, such a group gains its coherence not from the loyalty of each individual to a king or leader, but from a mutual coherence, or sense of brotherhood among its members. This method was most effective in small groups, while in large tribes or nations it was impossible to preserve the sense of unity, or brotherhood, without some recourse to patriarchal principles. It was easy to preserve the feeling of brotherhood with a small group who met face to face in the village assembly, but the system failed to hold the sec-

tions of a large group that lived in different localities. Owing to the necessities of the case, a similar organization sprang up among the most widely separated fratriarchal races, such as the Romans, Greeks, Teutons, English, and American Indians. In all there was the intimate circle of brothers, called the gens, or the clan. This was represented in the early English system by the village or town. Several of these gentes, or clans, were united in a larger brotherhood, known as the curia or phratry. The English hundred corresponded to this division. A number of the curiæ, or phratries, again were combined to form the tribe. Among the early English this was represented by the county.

In order to keep the sense of unity between these divisions various devices were adopted. The one common to all such races was the worship of an ancestral god, or of family gods. In the method by which they preserved their sense of unity, therefore, the fratriarchal groups resembled the patriarchal. By means of a religious cultus they dramatized the facts of their common origin, until these facts were felt as a reality by all divisions of the race. Thus religion also gave authority to their common customs and laws.

It was in the method of securing a common purpose and of enforcing the laws that the main difference between the two systems appeared. Unity of action was secured in the patriarchal method by the authority of the king, which compelled the obedience of the whole tribe. In the fratriarchal system authority rested with the group. It would seem, therefore, as if the difference lay in the question whether authority should come from above or from beneath.

But this is not the root of the difference between the Father idea and the Brother idea. The fundamental question is whether unity of purpose shall be secured by authority at all, or whether it cannot better be attained by will—that is, whether it must be the result of compulsion or repression, or whether it can be accomplished by some kind of a forward drive. By the term “will” we mean to indicate some kind of individual initiative, and a will that makes for unity must be a common will, developed in a number of men

toward a common purpose. The patriarchal system tends to produce a static civilization. A great ruler may accomplish much by constraining a nation to fulfil his purposes—to build and write and paint according to his taste; but, in the main, patriarchal authority tends to repress individual initiative. It fails to produce the wealth of art or the rapidity of progress that are possible under fratriarchal rule, such as that of Athens or the Italian cities. At best it compresses it to accord with the ideas of some one individual. When there is some fratriarchal liberty the will of a patriarchal ruler may stimulate art, but when all independent impulse is suppressed, as occurred in Egypt or China, or the Eastern Empire, or in Spain under Philip II, art and civilization become fixed and static.

It is interesting to note that there were certain races among whom the forward drive, which we have termed will or individual initiative, was of prime importance, and who resented any effort to bind them into unities which violated this spirit of independence. Although they may have begun with some form of the patriarchal system, and preserved a certain amount of reverence for their tribal gods, they soon made it evident that they would not be dominated by this feeling, but intended to keep themselves free to express their will as they chose. They found, of course, that in order to succeed, it must be a common will. Hence came about their assemblies, in which they decided what they desired or willed to do. If every one could be united in this desire, they then had a unity based on the forward drive of their individual hungers rather than upon the repression of them by fear and reverence. Their problem was to develop a culture which would arouse desire, and put into it the auxiliary drive of rage or enthusiasm. Their assemblies, therefore, did not cultivate the atmosphere of awe and fear that were characteristic of Egypt. They sought to arouse men by eloquent appeals, and to stimulate and fuse their emotions by music and dancing. The war-dance has been a means used by many fratriarchal tribes to arouse the laggards and cowards and fuse them all in the forward drive of some great emotion. It is owing to

this fact that in these fratriarchal tribes unity seems usually to have been achieved and maintained by the desire of plunder and the rage of warfare, since these are the most powerful forward-moving emotions in a primitive race. It is a well-known principle that when the authority of a ruler seems to fail, and the fratriarchal system is inadequate to keep the people from rebellion and division, if they then can be involved in a war, they will be unified by the powerful emotions thus evoked.

2. THE FORMS OF FRATRIARCHAL GOVERNMENT

To organize forms to express the fratriarchal type of unity is a much more difficult undertaking than to create a patriarchal government. The essential element, as just stated, is to secure the forward drive of a united purpose. When a crowd of equals begin to express their desires and purposes, the result is much more likely to be division than unity. It was necessary to devise some mechanism to form a common purpose without too great risk of disunion. The form which served best, and which was common to all fratriarchal governments, is the assembly of the people. Here all met together and plans were suggested for the approval or rejection of the people. Orators here could rouse their enthusiasm for a plan until the whole will of the tribe was behind it. Some tribes found that they avoided confusion and division by appointing a smaller council, which prepared plans and laws and submitted them to the assembly for approval. When the plan or law was decided upon it was necessary to carry it out or execute it. To do this effectively it was soon discovered that a leader must be chosen and given the necessary authority. This leader was selected sometimes by the assembly and sometimes by the council with the approval of the assembly. Sometimes he was chosen to carry out one enterprise, and sometimes for a term of years. In the patriarchal system obedience was secured by means of the emotion of reverence cultivated toward the king as the representative of the god. No democratic leader could count on the reverence of the people for himself as a means of en-

forcing his commands. In a democracy obedience must be attained through some entirely different emotion. The one ordinarily used is that ego-maximation instinct that leads a man to stand by and defend anything that he considers a part of himself. When he chooses a wife or a home or a friend, a man puts himself in a peculiar emotional relation to them. They are identified with his self, and any attack on them he considers an insult to him. It was, therefore, a clever device to arrange that the man to carry out a fratriarchal purpose should be one whom each individual had chosen for that purpose. For thus each felt that he himself was acting through his representative, and that the leader was in a sense himself. In order to secure obedience the democratic leader can never assume magnificent garments and make use of the ceremonials that cultivate reverence. This would only secure his overthrow. His success depends on his ability to identify himself with the ordinary citizen, to make the citizens feel that their leader has no authority but what they have given him, and that they are acting through him. It is, therefore, by an emotional culture entirely different from the patriarchal that the democratic leader rules. He is always seeking to demonstrate that he is a plain man and one of the people, in dress and accent.

We have here then the primitive fratriarchal form for framing and carrying out a purpose—the assembly and the leader. In a large nation it was necessary to elaborate this into an afferent nervous system, by which the desires of each section were carried to a common centre and there combined into united purposes and laws, which in turn were carried out by an executive chosen by the people, through an efferent system of administration, sometimes chosen by him, and sometimes elected by the people.

We have been considering the form used in fratriarchal groups for forming and carrying out a common purpose. This was the second of the three forms essential to group unity, as outlined in Chapter I, but in fratriarchal groups it is by far the most important. As stated in Chapter I, the first form was that which supplied the sense of group unity. This

in the patriarchal system was the religion of the group. We noted at the beginning of this chapter that in primitive fratriarchal groups there was no peculiar form adapted to this purpose, and that they usually retained some old patriarchal form which expressed their group unity, while sometimes they preserved the whole patriarchal organization along with the religion. This created a division between civil and religious government, which did not exist in the patriarchal state. The religious government was patriarchal, and had to do simply with the preservation of the group unity. The civil government was fratriarchal, and dealt with the forming and carrying out of laws and purposes.

The third form of group unity described in Chapter I was that of the administration of justice. This prevented division by deciding disputes, and limited the group by expelling or putting to death those who did not obey its rules. In the primitive fratriarchal group this was done by the assembly or council, but later a special judicial court was elected by the people or appointed by the executive. Reverence could not be used to enforce the laws, as the people did not revere laws which they had made themselves and could change, and it is of interest to note the emotions that were cultivated to supply its place.

3. DIFFICULTIES IN THE FRATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

Such were the fundamental forms of the fratriarchal government. There were certain difficulties which all such groups had to meet when they gave up the simpler patriarchal form.

First, in order to form a common purpose, it was necessary for all the tribe to meet together and to be brought under the sway of the same desire or emotion. When the tribe was too scattered or numerous to meet together it was necessary to devise some other method of forming a common purpose.

Second, if the civilization of a nation was to progress it was necessary to use the resources of the nation in accordance with a plan that would benefit all. Under the rule of

kings a certain portion of each man's wealth was taken for the use of the king to carry out any plan which he had in mind. Fratriarchal peoples were determined to contribute this wealth to the common purpose only when each contributor had a voice as to its use.

Taxation, therefore, was truly a part of the common purpose as much as was any warlike expedition or work of construction, and it was necessary to devise a system that would allow each man to express his will as to the common expenditure.

Third, it was necessary to choose leaders to carry out the common purpose, but these must be made to feel that they had no authority save that which is given by the people, and their rule must be safeguarded so that it would be impossible for them to make it permanent and thus establish a tyranny.

Fourth, the laws must be enforced, but as they were made by the people instead of by command of the king or the god, it was impossible to use the emotion of reverence to maintain them in the same way as in the patriarchal system.

Fifth, as noted in the chapter on kingship, it was an easy matter for the king to bring his authority to bear throughout the kingdom by means of representatives who dramatized his power, and produced the necessary emotional effect. It was a totally different and much more complicated matter to dramatize the will of the people through a system of representatives, and the emotional effect was not at all the same.

With these difficulties in mind, it is most interesting to study the problems of the different fratriarchal governments and to note how they were dealt with. They were so great that early attempts at democratic government failed as soon as they were applied to large numbers and scattered territory, and one fratriarchal nation after another was swallowed up by the more effective patriarchal system. Each one, however, developed some form or institution that was of value to humanity and that has been put to use in later years.

In the following chapters we shall consider some of the ingenious inventions of the early experimenters, as a preparation for an understanding of the emotional culture of our own day.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPERIMENTS OF THE GREEKS IN DEMOCRACY

I. THE GENIUS OF THE GREEKS

THE seed of fratriarchy planted by the Greeks seemed to bear a different flower on every branch. There appeared forms composite as the chrysanthemum and simple as the lily; common as the dandelion and aristocratic as the orchid; warlike as the nettle, and frail as the anemone. They gave to the world an illustration of the varied possibilities of this type of government as compared with the unchanging forms of the patriarchal system. The Greeks possessed not only the originality of mind that kept them continually experimenting and creating, they also showed the keenest intellect for analysis, and they dealt with forms of government as a botanist with flowers, producing thus a science which has been the basis of our study of politics ever since. Under the direction of a single mind, the millions of the Egyptian Empire had produced a stupendous civilization which ended by enclosing in its authoritative forms, as if in a granite sarcophagus, the living soul of art until it was stifled and dead. Greece was to show how the unrepressed energies of a small group of men, united by the forward drive of their own wills, could burst forth into all the channels of human activity, shaping crude stone into forms more exquisite than any created by the hand of man, rearing temples that still stand as models of perfection, giving to drama, poetry, and history forms that are still the world's standards, originating natural history, logic, rhetoric, and philosophy, and venturing out into the starry universe until they had actually measured the earth's sphere, nearly 2,000 years before Copernicus.

It is, therefore, of the utmost moment to discover how such a civilization was produced, and why it failed at last.

2. THE TRANSITION FROM MONARCHY

We have already noted that the Greeks had achieved a certain sense of racial unity by the amalgamation of their gods. They were, however, broken up into a great variety of tribes, each of which at first was probably under its king, who was also the tribal priest, and who maintained the emotional culture of worship by which the sense of tribal unity was preserved. But, as has been stated, there are other elements involved in the basis of a unity than the mere facts of a common ancestry and worship. These are a common purpose and a common law. Now the Greek temper was far too independent to accept the will of one man as its law, or to allow him to dictate its purpose. It was soon found that laws were usually administered by one man in such fashion as to punish or eliminate from the union those who were disagreeable to him rather than those who were really detrimental to the public welfare, and that when he controlled the common purpose it was directed to give him wealth and power, and to leave the people in poverty. They appreciated, however, the importance of his function as the head of the culture that developed their sense of unity. They contrived, therefore, by various ingenious schemes, to leave him in control of this function while they took over the direction of the common purpose. In some cases, as an added safeguard, to insure that he should not seize the government, they split up the kingship. In Sparta two kings were created, both quite subordinate to the Ephors and the Senate. In Athens, Solon replaced the king by nine archons, the first of whom took up the function of the king as a father, and assumed the guardianship of orphans and minors; the second assumed the priestly function as the head of the religion and the director of worship; the third became the polemarch, or leader in war; and the other six became the judges. The power of the king was thus so reduced that it was impossible for him to control the government legally. If he did so by force, and this happened quite frequently,

his government was termed a tyranny, as it did not constitute a real unity, but only an artificial one. The Greeks were consistent in calling by this name any type of government that ruled by force, whether it was controlled by one man, or a group of nobles, or by the mass of the people, in order that they might use it for their own benefit, and in disregard of the laws made to protect the other classes. While the king in the patriarchal system maintained his power by stately ceremonial and magnificent apparel, which created a sense of reverence for his person, the method by which one man acquired power under the fraternal system was exactly the opposite, as stated in the previous section. As the seat of authority, in this case, was not in heaven but with the people, it did no good to pose as a representative of the gods. The popular leader must show that he was nothing in himself, and that all his power came from them. These tyrants and demagogues, therefore, ordinarily made a parade of poverty and of the characteristics of the common citizen until they felt secure in the saddle.

3. THE DANGERS OF "ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT"

The chief criticism of the Greek democracy has been that it treated its great men with cruelty and injustice, and this seemed notably true in the case of such men as Cimon, Pericles, and Alcibiades. But if they did so, it was because the Greeks had learned by long experience to distrust the results of great power and fame upon the character of any man. Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, used his prestige to plunder the innocent island of Paros, and to violate the temple of Demeter, and was duly punished. Themistocles, who saved Athens at Salamis, was found to be accepting bribes and hunting plunder, and was suspected of treacherous dealings with the Persians, even before he went over to the court of the Great King. Pausanias, after delivering Greece at the battle of Platæa, committed intolerable outrages on Greek towns, and was finally convicted of being a traitor. It was his own mother who laid the first stone to wall him in in the

cell where he starved to death. The great error in the government of the republican cities of mediæval Italy was that they provided no protection against their own great men, and again and again they were plundered by those whom they had trusted at first for their noble character, but who became unscrupulous as they gained power. There is no tragedy greater than this of the continual disappointment of the people in their chosen leaders. The Greeks became great because the system they evolved protected them as far as possible from such betrayal. If they erred on the other side, this was better than the ruin of the state.

4. VARIETIES OF FORM

The Greeks were not prejudiced about the form of government. In their opinion a democracy could be as bad as a monarchy. The virtue was not in the form, but in attaining the public welfare. They went so far even as to create names which distinguished the good from the bad in each type. In cases of rule by one person, monarchy denoted good government and tyranny the opposite. An oligarchy was a community badly ruled by a few; an aristocracy, one which was wisely governed by a small group. Democracy was good government by the people; ochlocracy was mob rule. Timocracy usually denoted wise rule by people of property, and differed thus from plutocracy. A polity was a government in which the middle class had a share.

The governments of the states varied as to the classes that were allowed to participate. Some allowed the lower classes to vote, although they were not eligible for office. Thebes was an aristocracy which excluded from the government all men engaged in trade. Eubœa was a timocracy, open to men with an annual income of a certain number of bushels of wheat. In Epidaurus the class of the conipodes, or "dusty-footed," could not participate in the government. Thessaly was a federation of four districts. Corinth was an aristocracy which was often transformed to a tyranny. Elis remained a monarchy long after the others were democratized.

Most of these fratriarchies, apparently, started with a powerful group, which acted as a balance between the king and the people, and which finally became a sort of senate.

5. THE WAR MACHINE

The form of each government was modified in accordance with the purpose which the community developed. Sparta, for example, was organized as a war machine. It was governed by a senate, which was chosen at first by noting the volume of sound made by the shouts of the citizens at each name, as the list of prominent men was read. The two kings had little authority save as military leaders, and were often disciplined or deposed. The senate controlled the citizens with a rod of iron, and these in turn were a small aristocratic group of some hundreds that held in absolute subjection a large population of "helots," who, although Greeks like themselves, were regarded as slaves, and plundered, tortured, or slain at will. The whole state was an armed camp. The weaker children were exposed, to die of cold and starvation. The boys and young men lived together in groups under the rigid discipline of the warrior. They slept on the ground and had only the plainest food. A young man could visit his wife only by stealing away to her in secret. The training of the boys amounted at times to actual torture, and the girls looked on and scorned those who flinched. The girls, too, had their discipline, and were trained to dance naked in public, and to be as hardy as the boys. To prevent luxury and the discrimination of wealth, in place of money they had only copper disks, impossible to hoard or to transport in quantity. No foreign merchants would accept these in return for the luxuries they had to offer. Art of all kinds was crushed out of existence. Even conversation was discouraged, and every energy was bent on war. So far as the citizens were concerned, Sparta was an aristocracy which elected a senate, by which it was ruled in accord with the stern laws of Lycurgus. From the point of view of the bulk of the population, it was one of the most tyrannous oligar-

chies that ever existed, for the helots were governed by force, and formed no real unity. The system produced Leonidas and Thermopylæ, but the cost was high. If such an oligarchy had dominated the whole of Greece, as it sought to do, the history of the world would have been vastly different.

6. PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY IN ATHENS

Athens, fortunately, freed herself from oligarchic domination and became a true democracy. That city started with four Ionic tribes, divided into phratries, on the basis of family relationship in the patriarchal style. The constitution of Solon established a polity on a timocratic plan, by dividing the population into four classes, according to their revenue. Those with 500 bushels of wheat a year formed the nobles. Those with 300 were supposed to keep a horse, and were called knights. The "zeugetai" had 200 bushels, and like the two upper classes were eligible to office, while the fourth class had only the right to vote. As explained above, the nine archons took the place of the king. The Council of the Areopagus, composed of those who had held the office of archon, seems to have been, at first, the main governing body. A special mechanism was devised for the formulation of purposes. A second council of 400 was created to prepare questions for discussion. These they presented to the popular assembly, where they were voted upon. There were still many dwellers in Athens who were not citizens because they were not members of any tribe, and the fourth class, as stated above, was not eligible to office. It was reserved for Cleisthenes to transform this system into the democracy which brought such glory to Greece. He separated completely the mechanism concerned with the purpose and laws of the community from the old patriarchal culture of the tribes and families which developed the sense of unity. The latter organization was retained, but reserved for religious functions and the archons were associated with it. He created a new system to be used in voting and in their assemblies.

The people were divided into ten new tribes composed of demes, similar to our election districts. This system had several advantages. It included not merely the original four tribes, but the entire population. As the aim was to frame a common purpose, it avoided division on family interests, since some of each family were likely to be in each deme. To prevent division on local issues, the tribes were composed of assorted demes which were not contiguous. If the system had been representative this would have been a bad arrangement, but as it was merely a plan for popular assemblies it proved a successful method of avoiding powerful cliques. Fifty members of the deliberative council were chosen from each tribe by lot, to insure its entire democracy. This council presented its measures to the popular assembly. There was no representation. Each citizen had to cast his vote in person. It was the free discussion in the council and assembly that developed the Athenian mind in such an astounding fashion. The speeches of its leaders have become models studied by the statesmen of all ages. The archons became of less importance, and the polemarch or royal general was replaced by ten "strategoi," chosen one from each tribe, and commanding the army in turn. The Court of the Areopagus, consisting of the ex-archons, also diminished in significance, and a more democratic judicial system replaced it. Six thousand citizens were empanelled as judges or jurors, and sat in groups of 500 to try cases prepared by the archons. It was not until after the Persian War that Aristides opened the offices of archon and strategos to all citizens, and the democracy became complete. For a time these officers were chosen by lot, in the effort to achieve absolute democracy, but this was found inadvisable, and they were finally elected on the basis of their qualifications.

7. THE FORM OF A TRUE DEMOCRACY

We find here, then, a government composed of the three systems, described in Chapter I, which are needed if a unity

is to find true expression. In the first place, there was the system which had to do with the facts or ideas on which the unity was based. This preserved the old patriarchal form of the phratries and families, each with its observances, and maintained the old religious culture, with the archon priest at its head. This developed the feeling of unity in the people through worship. In the second place, there was the system for developing a common purpose. Here family feeling was more likely to hinder than help, and so the organization was based on local divisions or demes. It included the deliberative council and the popular assembly. Here there was provided a culture for the emotion of enthusiasm, to fuse the minds of the citizens to one purpose. Finally, there was the system of enforcing the law, which was the most striking feature, as it shows the most difference from present-day usage. Instead of seeking to give dignity to the law and to inspire reverence for it by bringing the culprit before a judge exalted by solemn ceremonial and representing the god who gave the law, he was brought before an assembly of 500 of his fellow citizens, who decided upon his guilt, after due discussion. In other words, the entire patriarchal conception of law as a divine command to be enforced by reverence was deleted. Law was the opinion of the fellow citizens of the prisoner. It was not enforced by reverence but by the emotion we call fear of public opinion, and the large juries were created to make this more powerful. It was found that men of wealth who would ordinarily scorn the compulsion of the law would flinch and cringe when they had to face the condemnation and contempt of 500 of their fellow citizens. This would seem to be a far more correct emotional culture for the enforcement of law in a democracy than that which we attempt to-day when we seek to maintain, for that law which we know to be merely a majority vote, a reverence accorded usually only to things divine. The Athenians recognized the purely human and fallible nature of law, knowing the absurdity of any effort to cultivate reverence for it, and they adjusted their system of justice in such a way as to bring to bear upon the lawbreaker as powerfully as pos-

sible the only emotion that might reasonably be expected to influence him, the fear of public opinion, or shame.

One cannot study the Athenian system without an increasing admiration for the genius of the Greek mind that produced it and adjusted its new forms, with an instinctive psychological insight, the rudiments of which we have hardly acquired to-day, to meet each danger and limitation to which the system was liable.

8. THE PREVENTION OF CIVIL STRIFE

The Greeks foresaw one great danger in their system, upon which innumerable subsequent democracies have been wrecked. It was the chance that two powerful antagonistic leaders might arise in the assembly and, arousing intense emotion in their respective parties, develop such violent enmity between them that the state would split into rival camps, and civil war ensue. The Greeks guarded against this by an ingenious device of Cleisthenes', known as ostracism. When the opposition leader reached a point of strength that threatened rebellion against the laws of the state, the council, or Archons, had the right to propose the ostracism. This was a secret vote in which every citizen inscribed upon a shell or sherd the name of any man whom he considered dangerous to the state. He might write the name of the leader of the government or of the opposition, or the name of any other citizen. If one-fourth of the votes united on any one man, he was exiled for ten years. Aristides was exiled in this way when his influence became so powerful as to threaten the government. He was recalled to aid in the battle of Salamis, and co-operated so effectively with Themistocles that he contributed largely to the victory. Later, when the peculations of Themistocles were discovered, he in turn was ostracized, and Aristides was given a free hand.

Grote says: "This process could never be raised against any one individual, separately and ostensibly. It could never be used at all unless its necessity were made clear, not merely to violent party men, but to the assembled Senate and people,

including the more moderate citizens." The latter would not vote from mere prejudice, but only to avert the possibility of an insurrection, or of some party procedure contrary to the constitution. The ostracism was, therefore, guarded from abuse as far as possible. If Rome had had such a system the terrible civil wars between Marius and Sulla, and Cæsar and Pompey, which nearly wrecked the state, might all have been avoided.

The Athenian democracy had its defects, as have all earthly things. It has been attacked as the most futile form of government, from the early day when Anacharsis had called it a system in which "wise men propound and fools decide." But experience seems to prove that a government by wise men alone is even more disastrous, since they cannot carry out their wisdom except by force until the fools become wise, and when they begin to use force they seem almost invariably to lose their wisdom. The Athenian democracy, in spite of all its safeguards, could be abused, as when, in the last days of the power of Athens, the Council of Four Hundred succeeded in gaining all the power by deceiving the people through a clever device. The success of the government depended upon the popular assembly, where it was possible for their great men, through the eloquence that was their special gift, to unite the minds of the people in a common purpose. The level of intelligence was so high, and the minds of the citizens so keen, that flaws in argument were quickly detected, while a truly great man, like Pericles, after meeting every sort of attack and accusation, by his noble appeals and clear-cut statements of truth, could shape the people to a national policy that would issue in success and glory.

There is no point in the world's history to which our eyes turn so gladly as to that when the Athenian people, with every mental and artistic power quickened at the touch of that greatest of statesmen, Pericles, were pouring their energies into the rearing of the Parthenon and the building up of their commerce, into breaking the tyranny of Persia, into the creation of literature and science and philosophy—

in short, into setting the human mind free from all the shackles that had bound it, to perform its great creative work and transform the world.

9. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Hitherto we have discussed the Greek forms of government as applied to small communities where all the citizens could meet in one assembly, and it has been shown that the success of Athenian democracy depended upon this gathering of the citizens, where all might be brought under the influence of one emotion, and united in one purpose. After the battles of Salamis and Mycale the power of Athens on the sea caused her alliance to be sought by many of the islands and towns along the coast of Asia Minor, for protection against the forces of Persia. There resulted the Confederation of Delos, which was organized under the just direction of Aristides, so that each town had its proper share of responsibility and recognition.

A synod was composed of representatives from each of the allies, who met in the temple of Apollo at Delos, where they were under the powerful unifying culture of the worship of a god revered by all. To maintain their control of the sea it was necessary to levy a tax upon each state, an extremely difficult matter to adjust. Through the manifest fairness of Aristides this was settled in a manner satisfactory to all. As time went on, the various states threw the brunt of the work of defense more and more upon Athens, which thus, through their negligence, became increasingly dominant. The allied states then began to refuse to perform the duties to which their representatives in the synod had bound them, and the synod called upon Athens to enforce the compact. The result of this was that what at first had been a federation of equals became an empire controlled by Athens, so that finally the government of Athens decided all the affairs of the federation, and dominated the governments of all the subordinate towns. An added reason for this was the rivalry of Sparta, which was continually striving to set up oligarchies similar to her own, in all the Greek

cities, and to overthrow the democracies organized under Athenian influence. This caused continual interference by force in all the local governments. Although the government of Athens was fair, and every man who had been unjustly treated in any subordinate town could secure justice by an appeal to the tribunal at Athens, these towns came to resent more and more the domination of a sister city, and were ready to league with Sparta in the final attack which resulted in the overthrow of the empire, and the destruction of the Long Walls.

It will be seen that the difficulty here was that the Greek democracy was designed for one community, and no machinery had yet been invented whereby it could be applied to scattered groups who could not meet in one assembly. The ingenuity of the Greek mind had evolved the idea of representation, but had not had opportunity to work it out into a successful system of government. Centuries before, each of the Greek tribes had sent its representative to the Amphietyonic Council at Delphi, to consider matters relating to the whole Greek race—chief among which was the preservation and maintenance of the Shrine of Apollo. Two delegates from each tribe were chosen by lot, and two more were selected by popular vote to accompany them. Here was the skeleton for a national Greek government, and it did preserve a certain sense of national unity, and also occasionally secured joint action on matters of importance. The sense of unity was really of the patriarchal type, and came from this common worship of Apollo, and from the culture of the ritual connected with his shrine and oracle, in which all joined. When it came to unity of purpose, they could not use the patriarchal method, since they had no authoritative head, as representative of the god, to issue orders. Neither could they practise the fraternal system, since all the tribes could not meet in one assembly and unite their wills under the influence of one emotion. Their delegates met together and achieved a united purpose, but when they returned each to his tribe, they had still to persuade the tribe to unite in this

purpose, and this they often failed to do. The Greeks had learned to feel that a delegate must reflect the opinion of the tribe, but they had no feeling that the tribe should reflect the opinion or decision of the delegate. In other words, they had a representation that worked only one way, an afferent nerve which carried an impulse to the centre, but no efferent nerve to insure action after co-ordination.

As noted in the chapter on kingship, the world had been trained to see the king in his representative. The democracies took a further step when they sent an ambassador to represent not one man but the thousands of the commonwealth. This took more imagination, but the Greek cities succeeded in making a strange city feel the presence of 2,000 citizens in their ambassador. Beyond this they could not go. They had achieved a representative assembly in the Amphictyonic Council and in the Synod of Delos; but it would not function as a government, because the people did not feel their unity with their representative sufficiently to be bound by his decisions. It was to take many centuries to create a representative assembly in which the people felt so truly present in their representative that they joined in his decisions and carried them out, thus making it possible to unite in a single purpose and to construct a democratic nation. The Greeks invented the idea, but years of training were required to make the people feel reality behind its forms. Hence the Confederacy of Delos broke down, and the Empire of Athens fell.

Without any central government other than the Amphictyonic Council it is surprising that the Greeks should have had sufficient national feeling to unite and repulse the Persians. Their feeling of unity was probably due, in large measure, to the Olympic games, which were held every four years. Here all the Greek states competed, and a truce was observed before and after the time of the games, to insure free access to them. The influence of such a national institution was certainly very great in creating a feeling of unity, and this may encourage us to hope for a similar re-

sult to-day from the many international competitions now being organized.

We owe more to the Greeks, in our conceptions of government, than to any other nation, and it is one of the great tragedies of history that they could not carry their ideas to perfection and create the first great democratic nation.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN METHOD. EXPANSION OF THE FAMILY IDEA

I. THE REAPING-MACHINE

WHILE the unity into which the people of Athens organized themselves resembles that of a plant which enabled their own energies to burst forth into flower and fruit, the organization of Rome resembles some huge machine of iron, designed to mow down the nations and gather their products into its vast maw. Athens failed because she could not combine all her shoots into one tree. The Roman Republic failed because the stream of golden grain, poured into the hoppers of the great reaping-machine, clogged the wheels, and broke the engine asunder.

The empires of ancient times were usually machines of this type, organized for the plunder of other nations. Each year they would cut a new swath, seize the gold from all the temples and treasures, and place officials over each conquered town to extort during the coming year every possible penny from the helpless inhabitants. The next year the machine would return to mow a new field, and collect the tax from last year's cutting. Under strong patriarchal government the resulting stream of wealth could be disposed of without dissension, but it was usually fatal to a democratic government, since conflict at once arose over its disposition, and this was the fate of Rome.

Nearly every ancient group was a unity organized for self-defense and for plunder against all who were not of its membership. In a monarchy one man controlled the machine and directed the disposition of the plunder. An oligarchy was a small group which had succeeded in combining a large subject population into a machine, which operated under the direction of the group and for its profit. Such

was Sparta, and such at first was Rome. The history of Rome is the story of the struggle between oligarchy and democracy, the effort of those who did the work to gain a share in the profits and the control.

2. THE CULTURE FOR THE SENSE OF UNITY

The story of Rome supplements that of the Greek republics in many ways. First, we gain from it a clearer idea of the way in which the sense of unity was maintained as the control was shifted from that of one man to the group. The basis of fact on which the sense of unity was developed was that of the family. The unity was achieved in a most extraordinary and unusual fashion, by expanding the idea and symbolism of the family until it included first the tribe, then the city, and finally the empire. The Roman family consisted of several groups: the sons, who were free men in so far as their wills did not conflict with the father; the slaves, who worked for the family in complete subjection, with no rights or share in the profits; the freedmen, who worked as servants, with certain rights and wages; the clients, who were dependents, and assisted in certain enterprises and received a share in the profits; and the visiting strangers or guests. We will note later how these divisions, with their corresponding rights, were carried up into the state and empire.

To understand the Roman idea, we must first consider the cultus by which the unity of the family was maintained. Each family had certain deities of its own, known as Lares and Penates. In each house were the images of the family Lar and two Penates, in the form of three youths. The Lar is supposed by many to represent the spirit of the ancestor of the family, though others maintain that he was the god of the ancestral land, and that it was the Genius who was the deified ancestor. The Penates were guardians of the storeroom and kitchen. The household was gathered each day, with the father as priest, and worship was offered to these spirits of the family. In addition, a part of each meal was offered to them with appropriate ceremonies. By this

sharing of food and ceremonial of reverence there was constantly cultivated in all members of the family, and in the servants and slaves, the sense of their unity with one another and with the gods and ancestors of the family. In addition each family had its Vesta, or goddess of the hearth, who was worshipped by all the women, and a Janus, or god of the door, whose cultus was the charge of the men. There was, moreover, a presiding Genius, mentioned above, a spirit who protected the master of the house, and who was worshipped by all.

The citizenship of Rome was composed of thirty *curiæ*. Apparently each curia was a federation of families (*gentes*) of the same stock. As with the family, each curia had its "sacra," or sacred emblems, presumably a representation of the Lares and Penates of its united families, and each curia met in a special place for the worship of these deities and the cultivation of a sense of unity among the various families. When the thirty *curiæ* were united in one city, this process was carried further. The city of Rome had its Lares and Penates, which represented the combined deities of the *curiæ*; the king represented the father of the house, and acted as priest. The Temple of Vesta was the city hearth, and the Vestal virgins were called the king's daughters, thus taking the position of the daughters of the family. The city had its Janus, who guarded its gate, as the family Janus guarded the door of each house. Rome was, therefore, an enlarged house, and its whole ritual was thus ingeniously designed to cultivate the feeling that all were one family.

The king did not gain his authority merely because he was hereditary representative of the god, or first ancestor of them all, nor yet by conquest, as was the case in the Oriental system. He was chosen by the people. It is evident that to acquire the necessary prestige he must be chosen in such a way as to be recognized as the head of each family. The chiefs and leaders of the various *curiæ* formed a council, which came to be known as the Senate. This body selected one of its number to be king, who was then presented to the

assembly of all the families, called the *Comitia Curiata*. In ratifying or rejecting this choice each *curia* had a vote.

It is probable that in this choice some kind of a succession was usually observed, and Frazer thinks that the succession was in the female line, and that in this way it happened that *Servius Tullius* the Plebeian, and *Tarquinius* the Tuscan were chosen, since each had married the daughter of a former king. Such a government might have lasted indefinitely, but, as noted, Rome came under the dominance of the *Tarquins*, who seem to have been Tuscan princes. These princes held the old patriarchal idea of their authority, and not only surrounded themselves with a display of Oriental magnificence, but manifested a disregard for the rights of the individual. The Romans regarded this as tyranny, and finally succeeded in ejecting them. Through the *Tarquins* they had learned to distrust the rule of kings, and to fear the permanent control of any one man. They evidently felt that such a one might lose sight of the fact that he was merely a representative of all the heads of the families, and that he might seek to rule in his own right. There was, therefore, before them the same problem that we have noted in the case of the Greek cities. The patriarchal method was used to secure unity by recognizing one man in the place of a common ancestor and god, and by developing a cultus expressive of the reverence of the people for him, and of their unity in him. Like the Greeks they now attempted to construct a system which would enable them to keep their sense of unity without subordinating themselves to the purposes and whims of one man. They continued to choose a king, or *rex*, and made him the head of the family and high priest. But he was no longer to shape the purposes of the community. The Senate—that is, the heads of all the families—was to be the real governing body, and, to concentrate its authority, two of its number were chosen each year as executives. Two were chosen, so that no one man could control the people, since each had the veto power, and they were chosen each year in order to safeguard that control from any possibility of permanence. They were selected in the same way as the

kings, by the Senate and the popular assembly. The Romans saw the difficulty of this system in its lack of unified control in case of emergency, and provided for it by arranging for the appointment of a special officer, known as a dictator, who, in time of necessity, could immediately take up all the functions of an autocratic king.

3. THE CULTURE OF A COMMON PURPOSE. THE SENATE

We have considered the form of organization used by the Romans for the culture of the sense of unity. We must turn to that in which they clothed the two other systems essential to fratriarchal unity—those concerned with the shaping of purposes and with the enforcement of law, or legislation, and the administration of justice. Mention has already been made of the Senate. It is said that there has never been in the world's history such a governing body as this council constituted by the Romans. Its name has been perpetuated as significant of the highest type of deliberative group. Strangers who saw them at the time of their glory have called them an assembly of kings, so great was the majesty of their demeanor, and so stupendous the authority they wielded. They were the heads of the old noble families—the city "Fathers"—and as the father of the Roman family had power of life and death over his children, so had they, not only in their own state, but, as the power of Rome expanded, throughout the world. The consuls were under their authority, to be sent to battle or to be recalled and disciplined at will. They framed and proposed all laws, and formed the high Court of Justice for the nation. Seated in their stately chairs in the Forum of the great city, they decided the fate of kings, overthrew dynasties, and shaped the course of nations. The whole government—its legislation and justice—centred in them. Only those who had held some high office in the state might be elected to the Senate. Other offices were but for a year; the senator held his position for life. Amid all the turmoil of ephemeral rulers, the Senate remained fixed and unchanged. Had they but remained the same in character Rome would have had a differ-

ent fate. It is evident that the Senate represented the old kingship. The consuls were but two executives chosen from its number, for the year. Besides the consuls, there were two prætors, one of whom was magistrate and police commissioner for the city, while the other held a similar office for the provinces. The ædiles resembled our municipal park, street, and education commissioners, save that the education they provided the public consisted chiefly of spectacles. The lowest magistrates were the quæstors, who were the city treasurers and paymasters. A candidate for consul must have held each of the other offices in succession.

4. THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY

If the Senate represented the Father of the family, the *Comitia Curiata*, or "*populus Romanus*," were the sons. They consisted of the men of the old original families, and were also called the Patricians. The government would have been a simple affair had there been no other elements to consider. It is easy to preserve unity in such a group of interrelated families. But as the original family had its slaves, freedmen, clients, and guests, so also did the greater family of Rome. The slaves were without rights in the state as in the family. The other groups were members of conquered tribes, or strangers who had settled under Roman protection. These Plebeians formed no part of the old family organization, and were regarded with contempt, as beings of a lower order.

There was only one occasion when the Patrician felt any unity with the Plebeian. War creates strange comradeships between the haughty and the humble, and under the stress of its emotion Plebeian and Patrician felt united. Some statesman, taking advantage of this fact, had formed the whole people into a military organization of thirty-five tribes, divided according to the districts in which they lived. Each tribe was divided into five classes, in accordance with their wealth, not measured in terms of wheat, as in Athens, but of copper. Each class was made up of two centuries. The assembly of these tribes of infantry, together with the

eighteen centuries of cavalry, or knights, into which the patricians were divided, formed the *Comitia Centuriata*. It soon replaced the *Comitia Curiata* as the main popular assembly, and it was to it that the decrees of the Senate were referred for ratification. Each century had a vote, but as the centuries of the wealthy classes, with but few members, had the same vote as the large numbers included in the fifth-class centuries, the assembly was not precisely democratic. It had no power to originate but could only veto a decree it disapproved. The courts and the laws were thus still entirely in the hands of the small oligarchy of old families, from whom the Senate and all the officers of the state were chosen.

5. THE MACHINERY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Now, in an oligarchy taxes are levied and laws are made for the benefit of the small group at the head, and are designed to enable them to control the mass of population at will and compel them to produce wealth or conquer it for the benefit of the few, just as the freedmen and slaves are controlled in the family. In ordinary groups disunion is sure to result if the law is not enforced. In such a group as this, however, if the class of freedmen or plebeians are to be held in any unity that is real, the important thing is to secure that unjust laws are *not* enforced. If this is not done some rebellion is likely to occur. To accomplish this, there was created an assembly of the Plebeians called the Tribes, which had the privilege of electing certain officers known as tribunes. To these were given very extraordinary powers. Their person was inviolable and sacred as that of a high priest, and they might by a word arrest any legal process in mid-course, and by a protest stop the passing of any law. Such an extraordinary check on the legal proceedings of a group by the representatives of another group was probably never devised before or since. But so long as the two classes of Patricians and Plebeians remained separately conscious, it can be seen that such a device was essential if they

were to achieve any vital unity. Otherwise oppression would reach the point where it would issue either in rebellion or slavery. Furthermore, it was necessary that the Plebeians should be able to frame laws for their own protection, and their assembly was given this power. The laws thus formulated were presented to the Senate by the tribune, and such was the power of this extraordinary official that the Senate was usually compelled to pass the law. These two self-conscious and antagonistic groups, perpetuated thus in the forms of their government, must have accentuated the conflict between the classes. Instead of gaining a common purpose by mingling all classes in each deme, as in Athens, the lower class, in order to bring its purposes to bear on the government, was compelled to create a second organization of its own, where it formulated its purposes, which were then brought to bear on the Senate by the tribune as described above. With such a force behind him he could often demand the passing of the law under threat of revolution. The Patricians devised a check, in their turn, in the office of the Censor, who was elected from their party, and had the supervision of the lists of eligible voters and candidates. He could, therefore, throw out a vote or a candidate unacceptable to the aristocrats, by discovering some ground of ineligibility. So the fight to achieve a united purpose went on with check and countercheck, and it was not until the Plebeians gained the right to one of the two consular offices, about 350 B. C., that Rome began to feel the power of the forward drive of the democratic state. In 172 B. C. all offices were open to Plebeians and Patricians alike, and then the armies of Rome, marching forward under their own leaders and laws, and for their own profit, under their own purpose, began to push forward irresistibly, and to dominate the earth.

6. THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE FAMILY

In the old family, in addition to sons and slaves and freedmen, there were the clients and guests. In the family of the state these may be likened to the other cities of Italy, which more and more took part in the Roman campaigns, and yet

had no share in the government. The next struggle was to secure some means which would bind them into vital unity. Some disinterested statesmen, such as the Gracchi, had seen the necessity of this in 122 B. C. They brought forward many grounds for discontent, among them a case where the leading magistrates of an Italian city had been seized and flogged by a Roman official because his wife complained that the public baths had not been specially cleaned before she went to use them. But these brave and far-sighted statesmen were murdered by the oligarchy in its determination not to share its privileges any further with the public. These aristocrats said it was absurd to share their citizenship with people whom they had conquered, and that it was also impossible, as the highways would not hold the numbers that would come to Rome to vote on election day. The Italians grew more and more discontented. They felt themselves to be Romans in every respect save the franchise, which would give them a share in the purpose and plunder of the state. Thousands of them would steal into Rome and register as citizens, only to be expelled with insult. In B. C. 91, M. Livius Drusus, a young Roman noble, who had been elected tribune by the people, took up their cause, and by working with great tact had almost won the Curia to vote for the franchise for the Italians, when the old oligarchial group broke up the meeting, seized upon Drusus, and murdered him. Feeling that there was no redress by constitutional methods, the Italian cities sprang to arms and defeated the Romans in a series of engagements. Though the Romans were successful in the end, the massacre of 80,000 Romans by Mithradates, in Asia, and the threat of foreign war, caused them to grant the concessions demanded by the Italians. All who wished to come to Rome and register were received as citizens, and ten new tribes were created. As there was no representation and they had to be present in person to vote, this involved resigning their local citizenship, which many were unwilling to do.

7. THE WORLD FAMILY

Thus at last we see the old Roman family enlarged to include all Italy, and reorganized. All save the slaves had become sons, and were part of a system through which their will could be expressed, and by which they attained a share of the common profits. For the Roman state was no longer levying assessments. It was paying dividends. In addition to games and spectacles given by conquerors, there were also distributions of cash, and Cæsar found that over 300,000 men were receiving a regular dole of food. We will return later to the disastrous results of this prosperity. The Romans had no sooner expanded their family to include Italy than they discovered that it had enlarged to the limits of the world. It became necessary to decide the relation of all the new conquests to the Roman commonwealth, and to devise a system of unity that would include them all.

The old family symbolism formed the background for their arrangement. Certain conquered nations took the place of the slaves; their lands and possessions were confiscated, and they were put under the stern government of proconsuls, and by cruel taxation were forced to hand over the product of their labor to Rome. Contrasted with them were the Roman colonies and certain free cities, who were regarded as the sons of the family and who were left free, save that in their foreign policy they were subject to Rome. The Roman colonies differed from those of other nations in their object. They were created neither for trade nor for expansion of population, but for strategic military posts. When the Romans wished to control such a fortress city they would send out 300 soldiers and their families to occupy it. These formed their own government and were recognized as sons of Rome. A third class, corresponding to the freedmen, consisted of conquered cities whose rights had been restored, save that they paid a slight impost and were subject to the Roman prætor of the district. The fourth class, corresponding to the clients of the family, embraced the cities and nations that were allied with Rome and dependent, but not subject.

Among these groups there was a continual process of advancement, from slaves to freedmen, and from freedmen to sons, as the number of free Roman cities increased. This, however, failed to make possible the forming of a common purpose, as the cities were far apart and there was no system of representation. There was no method of cultivating a sense of unity with all these foreign nations, save that of the amalgamation of gods into one Pantheon, which has already been described.

8. THE DIVISION OF THE STATE BY PERSONAL RIVALRIES

Weak as it was, the system might have hung together at the circumference had not the centre broken down. The vast amount of wealth and power concentrated in one city was too great a temptation to the greed and ambition of the public leaders. When a man became a leader he began to use the machinery of government and party issues to gain complete control of these immense resources for himself, and did not hesitate, when he held the power, to put to death all who opposed him. The struggle between Marius and Sulla was such a battle for personal control. Marius took up any democratic issue that promised him success, and Sulla, in opposition, was thrown to the extreme of oligarchy. Marius put to death one-third of the Senate who opposed him, and when Sulla returned and assumed the dictatorship, he put to death two-thirds of the Senate that remained. Having filled their places with his own creatures, he made this new Senate supreme by taking away all the powers of the people. From this time on, the government of the Republic was simply a series of conspiracies by individuals to gain office and power. For this they bribed the people with incredible sums, and terrorized their opponents with armed guards. When a man had secured office he could then rob and plunder to his heart's content. Verres, for example, smothered the chief magistrate of Sicily with smoke in a closed room until he would turn over the amount of gold demanded. He plundered the temple of Minerva, at Athens, and of Apollo, at Delos,

and scraped the gold from the statue of Diana. He attempted to dishonor the daughter of the chief citizen of Lampracus, and murdered her father and brother. He robbed every city and every citizen of all gems and works of art, and returned to Rome with a huge fortune. Such were the opportunities conferred by holding office at Rome, and it is not surprising that the competition was great. Political principles were a mere stepping-stone to power. Clodius, the great ally of Cæsar, a corrupt young noble who had seduced Cæsar's wife by entering his house disguised as a girl during a religious festival, was made a plebeian by Cæsar in order that he might be elected tribune. He became the political boss of Rome, terrorizing all just government by his band of thugs, and "beating up" consuls or senators who opposed him. In short, it would be impossible to imagine a more utterly corrupt government than that of Rome when at last Cæsar took it under control. All unity of the state, or even of party, was lost in a mad struggle of individuals to control the government in order to gain a share of the plunder. The republic had failed because it had been too successful. The vast wealth and power it had acquired were too much for the integrity of the citizens, and all joined in the mad, selfish struggle—all save a few like Cato, who looked on contemptuously, and tried to do his duty, and finally stabbed himself when he saw his efforts were of no avail.

9. THE MILITARY DESPOTISM

It was evident that democratic government was at an end, and Cæsar seems to have been the first to realize it. He gained the power of a king by reversing that process of dividing the kingly prerogatives among many offices, which had destroyed the power of the kingship. One after another, every office of the state was conferred upon him. He was the pontifex, and head of all religion; he was quæstor, ædile, prætor, tribune for life—and therefore champion of the people—dictator, consul as long as he chose—he summed up the whole state in himself. He filled the Senate with his retainers to the number of 900. But his real power was in the army he had brought

to such invincible efficiency—the old Tenth Legion, supplemented by the huge warriors of Gaul. The democracy had become a military despotism, thoroughly patriarchal in essence, save that Cæsar himself derived his power from the pretense of being the choice of the people, and thus instead of using the culture of reverence, was forced to cultivate the appearance of a common citizen. But he had evidently seen that this was but an expedient. The change to a thoroughly patriarchal form must come. There was no other way then known to men to hold such vast power and such extended dominions together in one unity. Doubtless in the last days, when he was visiting Cleopatra in Rome, he had talked over with her the Egyptian method of maintaining power by deification. But his attempt to accustom the citizens to a Crown failed, and he was slain before his plan could be perfected.

Augustus, when he obtained the supreme power, sought to restore the republic and the old culture of family unity. The Lares and Penates of Rome were set up to be worshipped by all. The genius or spirit of Augustus was to be revered by all the great Roman family, as in the primitive household each member revered the genius of the head of the family. Augustus refused the consulship and wished to rule simply as one selected to be the father of the state, a common citizen in himself, *primus inter pares*.

For a time this idea availed, but the change came inevitably from a military despotism under democratic forms to the full patriarchal system, of which we have already spoken.

The story of Rome is another even more incontrovertible demonstration that no democratic form of ancient times was adapted to any rule larger than that of a single city. The Romans had no wish to enlarge their citizenship, and when it was forcibly increased step by step, they knew of no means to unify the citizens throughout their vast dominions, and bring them together under the forward drive of one purpose.

Although he was unable to create any system, other than

a military despotism, by which the Empire could achieve a common purpose and *act* in unity, Augustus met with quite extraordinary success in his efforts to create a *sense* of unity throughout his dominions. As stated above, the gods of nearly all nations were recognized in the Roman Pantheon on the principle of the amalgamation and identification of gods. But the chief means adopted was to introduce into every conquered province worship of the genius of Rome and the genius of the Emperor. This became an essential element in the religion of every man, and by thus placing the statue of Rome and of the Emperor in a dominant position in all religious observances, and by requiring that every man should worship them along with his own gods, a continual culture of reverence for the authority of Rome and the Emperor was maintained, and every man was made to feel the fact that he belonged to Rome, just as he belonged to his own god. If he worshipped Rome and the Emperor he was free to worship whatever other gods he chose. This emotional culture proved most effective, and barbarians from farthest Britain to Africa and Asia were made to feel their unity with Rome as a reality, and to take pride in it.

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL ROME. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PATRIARCHAL FORMS AND FRATRI- ARCHAL CULTURES

INTRODUCTORY

FROM a study of the fratriarchal groups that originated in Greece and Rome, it would seem to be evident that it is difficult, if not impossible for a group of that type to hold together sufficient members to constitute a powerful nation or create a great civilization unless it is provided with forms better adapted to its basis, and an emotional culture of greater power than any which Greece and Rome were able to evolve. It was only after Rome returned to patriarchal forms that certain democratic emotional cultures appeared which might have served to supply to fratriarchal groups the emotional power of which they seemed so greatly in lack. If such a culture had been available in the time of the fratriarchal states, it might have served to maintain them until a democratic world-unity could have been created. As it was, these cultures came into conflict with imperialistic systems to which they were anathema. In the contest between democratic emotions and autocratic forms the unity of the world was wrecked, and the fratriarchal cultures were gradually transformed until they became sufficiently patriarchal in character to support the autocratic forms of the Middle Ages. Enough of the original democratic culture remained, however, to keep alive a few fratriarchal groups until at length forms were invented which made possible a democratic state on a large scale. In the next section we shall trace the reaction of Rome to patriarchal forms, the rise of the new fratriarchal cultures, their conflict with the autocracies of the day, and their transformation into cultures of the patriarchal type. The chaos of the Middle Ages was largely due

to the fact that there were no statesmen with sufficient vision to see the necessity of emotional cultures adapted to the forms and bases of the social and political groups of the day. It was perhaps natural that there should have resulted a return to the old patriarchal forms and cultures which had proved their value in the earlier civilizations. The history of the period seems to emphasize the fact that no group can succeed unless there is a perfect correlation between its basis, its form, and its emotional culture. Patriarchal groups were overthrown by the intrusion of democratic cultures. Fratriarchal cultures were transformed when they were clothed in patriarchal forms, and groups that began on a democratic basis and with a powerful fratriarchal culture failed because no adequate form had been invented to enable them to function. It seems incredible that the most democratic emotional culture ever evolved should have been transformed into the most effective culture the world has known for the emotions essential to autocratic government, yet this is precisely what we shall find to be the case.

I. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF UNITY

In the year 29 B. C. the doors of the Temple of Janus at Rome were closed by the Senate with solemn ceremonial. For 200 years they had remained incessantly open, that the divine guardian of the city might go forth to defend her from the constant attacks of enemies without and within. Never for a moment had it ceased, the terrible strife that involved the whole known world in its horrors. Now at last the warfare was ended, and from distressed and harassed mortals everywhere rose hymns of praise expressing the hope that at length had begun a Golden Age of peace and good-will among men.

A few years before, such a hope would have seemed absurd. Ringed round by savage and barbaric tribes that battered at the gates of every province, while her very heart was torn asunder by chaotic struggles among her own citizens in their mad thirst for gold and power, the Mistress of the World seemed certain to meet her end in a terrible orgy

of blood and crime. The great unity that had been built up through centuries had disintegrated into the primitive chaos of a pack of wild beasts that fight, each for himself, over their prey. The Senate, that assembly of kings that once had ruled with such stern dignity, was a horde of cringing flatterers and turbulent foreigners, many of whom did not know the way to their seats. The knights, about 10,000 in number, were rapacious plunderers, each seeking to gain the largest share of the loot of nations. This class possessed nearly all the wealth. The people themselves were no longer the sturdy householders and farmers of ancient Rome. Of the population of 2,000,000, one-half were slaves who thronged the streets arrayed in the gorgeous liveries of the various knights. They were regarded with both contempt and envy by the remaining million inhabitants, who scorned hard work and, ragged and starving, picked up a precarious living from various odd jobs. Their only asset was their vote and they knew that in exchange for that they could obtain money and food without labor, and that they could count on being entertained by magnificent spectacles which elsewhere were given only for potentates. They were the sovereign people. In the provinces each official had his own methods of plunder and extortion by which the wealth of the people was brought to Rome. Such had been the result of the fratriarchal system applied to world government. Instead of a government that produced a common purpose in the world, there had resulted a government which each man sought to use for his own private purpose.

Out of this chaos came peace; and it came through the mastery of one man. The situation had reached a point where any master was better than none. The young plebeian, Octavian, whom Cæsar adopted, must have had notable qualities to have succeeded in such a competition for the control of the world, in spite of historians who decry him as a cold-blooded, fishy-eyed mediocrity, of the type of Napoleon III. He gained the control by force because it was he who had the largest and best-trained army. Once in power, he immediately set to work to organize a system that would bring

the world into order and unity. The fratriarchal idea tends to diversity, the patriarchal to uniformity. What the world needed was uniformity. The assassination of Cæsar had demonstrated how violent was the Roman aversion to kingship. Octavian saw that the only solution was a monarchy under democratic forms. Such a mingling of systems as he produced might occur in the case of a father who told his sons to govern themselves and stood behind to make suggestions and correct mistakes.

He first tactfully expurgated and reformed the Senate and was himself elected its president. He made this once more the governing body, knowing that the senators would always act on his suggestion. To minimize his own importance and increase theirs, he refused the office of consul, and several times resigned from his position as Imperator, that they might have the opportunity to elect him again. The *Comitia Centuriata* and *Tributa* and the various officers resumed their functions. He played the game so successfully that like pleased children they thought they were doing it all. Thus he restored the old forms of Roman unity and corrected the abuses. The corrupt knights who had held office were given opportunities to enjoy their wealth while he slipped better men into their places. The worst situation was in Rome itself, and little could be done with the pauperized citizens. In the provinces his success was greater.

2. THE NEW FORMS AND BASIS OF UNITY

There were several means by which Octavian proceeded to unify the world. The shift to the patriarchal system meant, first, that there would be no further effort to gain an expression of the common will of the people. His will must take its place, either through suggestion to the Senate, or through the direct commands of his officers. The free cities and Roman colonies, which he increased in number, still had power to elect their officers and govern themselves, so long as they did nothing against his will. Their obedience was rendered at first not through the culture of reverence, but

by the cleverly maintained fiction that he was their chosen fratriarchal head.

In the system that dealt with law and its enforcement the change was even more effective. The confused customs and laws of the many nations were gradually replaced by the Roman code. Every inducement was given to foreign cities to harmonize their conflicting laws with those of Rome, and there were Roman courts to which any citizen might appeal. The Comitia Tributa elected Octavian Tribune for life. As such, his function was to see that justice was done to the people. He applied this not only to Rome but to the whole world, with astonishing humanity and far-seeing wisdom. Any citizen in any part of the world who was unfairly condemned might appeal direct to him, and be sure that he would meet with generous consideration. To bring all the western world under one law, and one final court of appeal, was evidently a step of incalculable importance toward unity.

The culture of the sense of unity supplied by religion and so essential in all patriarchal governments was a more difficult matter to arrange, in Rome. Each nation had its own gods and they were too diverse to identify after the fashion in which the Greek and Roman systems had been united. Octavian was elected Pontifex Maximus and did his best to restore the authority of the old Roman religion. He was created "Augustus" or Sacrosanct, and, as its chief representative, had all the force of the institutions and emotions of the religion of Rome behind him. In Rome we may still see the Pantheon, the temple which his friend, Agrippa, built to the honor of the divinities of the family of Cæsar, in order that with them the gods of all nations might be worshipped. We have noted how Augustus cultivated also the family deities of Rome. It was this worship of the presiding genius of Rome that was carried into all the provinces and was made the cultus for developing a sense of universal unity. Augustus took over Egypt as his own especial province. Here awaited him all the garments of royalty and divinity once worn by Thothmes and Ptolemy. He had only

to put them on to be recognized as King and god with absolute authority. We may still see him in the Egyptian temples clad in the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and standing in the presence of his father, Amen Ra. The success of this arrangement may well have suggested the possibility of a similar cultus throughout the Empire.

Perhaps the most important means of world unification was the purely material matter of communication. The vast system of roads radiating from the golden post in the Forum and extending in their ramifying branches to the farthest confines of the Empire—each road with its milestones and regular stations for rest and change of horses—was the means of bringing the entire world into a closer unity than had ever been dreamed. A command uttered by the Emperor at Rome might be conveyed along these highways to the outposts on the Rhine, to those on the Danube, and to those in farthest Syria, and could reach them in a few days' time. It was along these arteries that the will of Rome reached out and the wealth of the world poured in. It was by means of them that the whole of Europe could be policed and kept in order. The various tribes had resented the Roman authority and refused the imposts at first. Little by little they came to feel that the tax was a small price to pay for peace and order, and acquiesced gladly in the system. Some unruly tribes were transplanted and set to work in better fields, strategic colonies were planted, and before long it was found that the people acquired the habit of unity. Strife ceased and the legions were needed only to guard the frontier. The importance of the habit of unity must not be overlooked. If men can be made for a time to act in unity, even by force, the habit may persist.

Cleverly as the fact was disguised, it was in the legions that the real government of the Empire resided. There were twenty-five of them. Eight guarded the fortresses along the Rhine against the fierce tribes of the Germans. Five held the line of the Danube from the Alps to the Black Sea. Four protected the rich cities of Syria from the raids of the mounted archers of Parthia, two guarded Egypt from the

blacks of Nubia and the Bedouins of the desert, and three were quartered in Spain, while one sufficed to protect the province of Africa. It was upon the will of these 400,000 men that the power of the Emperor and the order of the world depended.

The great mistake of Augustus was that he provided no method of succession by which his power could be safely transferred. The Senate was supposed to choose his successor, but he should have known that if their choice was at variance with the army's, or if different sections of the army chose different men, chaos would ensue. A prime essential in a permanent patriarchal system is an ordered succession protected by inviolable sanctions.

3. THE EFFORT TO MAINTAIN A STANDARD

So long as the family of Cæsar endured, unity was preserved. That family was pursued by a tragic fate. The two grandsons of Augustus died as they reached manhood. He had divorced his wife, to ally himself with the old aristocracy by marrying Livia, the wife of a representative of one of the noblest families, and it was her son by her former husband who succeeded Augustus. Tiberius was an able general and a wise administrator. He saw the great danger that threatened to overthrow the Empire. The Romans had maintained as one basis of their unity a fine standard of morals and character which was embodied in their customs and laws. It had its defects, and they were not always true to it, but it was upon this type of character that their government and system of unity were built. With the influx of all nations into Rome this standard was beginning to be submerged. In the conflict of so many ideas and customs, the younger generation felt that any standard was absurd, and prided themselves on being above such absurdities. Now the real value of any group, in social construction, is in the standard which it maintains through its laws and customs. It is thus that it creates men of a certain type of character, who may be used in the social edifice. There must be something solid in them, something that can be counted upon when one makes use of

them. Otherwise they are irresponsible and undependable, as useless for building civilization as so much froth. A vertebrate has his skeleton on the inside, a mollusc on the outside. Provided he has a solid framework somewhere, it does not matter so much where or what it is. One cannot build successfully with jelly-fish. And this was precisely the difficulty Tiberius encountered. The young people of his day, in the confusion of Oriental influences, seemed to have no standard at all. They could not be counted on for anything. The fabric of society seemed to be dissolving. His own wife, Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was the leader of this movement, and she betrayed Tiberius so scandalously that her father was compelled to banish her. Tiberius sought to maintain the high standards of the nobles of ancient Rome. Everywhere he met with opposition, plots, defiance and treachery, in his own family as well as among enemies. No one ever administered a great empire more wisely and justly than did he, at first. Because he tried to maintain the Roman standard, he was accused by the debauched youth as an unjust tyrant, and plot after plot was made against his life. After a lifetime of these attacks and betrayals, when finally he discovered that Sejanus, the man he trusted most, had ruined his son's wife and planned to murder him, he gave up in a sort of grim despair, and retired to Capri, convinced that the world deserved nothing but the rule of a tyrant. Roman historians, taking the side of the younger generation, have done all in their power to blacken his memory. He saw the death of his brother, Drusus, the noble defender of the northern frontier, and of his nephew, the gallant young conqueror Germanicus, the darling and pride of the army. His son, too, passed away, and all that remained of the family of the Cæsars were his eccentric nephew, Claudius, and Caius Caligula, the epileptic son of Germanicus.

4. THE DEIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR

At the death of Tiberius, Caligula obtained the Empire. With all the plots against the Emperor's life, it was essential to develop some more adequate culture of reverence for

his person. Caligula took over the full Egyptian plan. His grandmother was Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony, whom Cleopatra had apparently persuaded to adopt the Oriental patriarchal style of government. It may have been from his grandmother that Caligula derived the idea. The experience of Tiberius proved that the democratic culture of Augustus no longer worked. Publicly, before the Senate, Caligula was declared to be a god. He selected the most prominent men of Rome to be his priests. He took his stand, on the porch of the temple of Castor and Pollux, between the two statues of the gods, and here were sacrificed to him the offerings which he considered most appropriate, not bulls or sheep, but flamingoes, peacocks and pheasants. An image of him in gold was set up for all to worship. Similar images were erected in all the provinces and his worship was commanded throughout the world. He even gave an order to place his image in the Holy of Holies in the temple at Jerusalem. Following the Egyptian idea, he married his own sister Drusilla, that his children might be of the pure stock of the gods. Though he ended his life a madman, the culture of the deified Emperor went on throughout the world. It became the test of Roman citizenship to worship his image, and that of the goddess Roma. Thus at last a religion was developed by which reverence for the authority of the Emperor could be cultivated and a sense of the unity of the world in him.

The Senate had been terrorized into acquiescence with his decrees, and had become a mere form. Its opinions were disregarded; its assent commanded. The change into the Oriental patriarchal system was complete at last, and democracy in Rome was dead.

5. THE GREAT DEFECT—UNREGULATED SUCCESSION

It was not until the death of Nero, the last of the line of Cæsar, that the evils of an undetermined succession were manifested. At this crisis each section of the army chose its favorite as Emperor, and it was the victorious army of Vespasian that finally forced the Senate to choose him, in place

of Vitellius. The government was in fact a military fratriarchy; its head was really chosen by the army, and when there were rival candidates the decision hung upon a battle.

It was this loose screw that was to wreck the Empire by a hundred terrible battles, and cause the misery and destruction of thousands for four hundred years. So far as the people were concerned, the unity was secured. They were content with their government, and were proud to live as citizens of the great empire whose laws they revered and whose order gave them prosperity. They paid in their taxes for the most part willingly, and these flowed in a golden stream of one hundred million dollars a year to Rome. This river of gold, greater than any ever imagined in fable, was a sufficient price to occasion plots all over the world. For a time, however, all went well. The line of Vespasian ended with the murder of the tyrant Domitian. Then the Senate exercised its privilege and chose Nerva, one of its wisest and best, for the office. When the army protested, Nerva chose as his successor their favorite general, Trajan—a Spaniard known for his ability and justice. Thus was inaugurated the plan of adoption, which controlled the succession and kept it in wise hands for a century, during which the Empire reached its maximum of power, extent, and unity. The invincible legions, disciplined and acting as a unit under the iron will of their master, stood as a wall of steel to protect the prosperity of a united empire from the covetous attack of the fierce barbaric nations outside. Ever victorious, they pushed their wall far across the Danube into the midst of the wild Dacians of Hungary and across the Syrian desert to the river Euphrates. Perhaps the one error in the wise rule of Trajan was to push his boundaries so far out that no man but he could maintain them.

6. THE UNITED WORLD

If Trajan unified the Empire by his protecting wall of steel, his successor Hadrian accomplished even more by introducing a spirit of devotion to the arts of peace. He spent his time in travelling from city to city in every province,

from Egypt to farthest Britain, and in cultivating in them all the standards of art and literature and social custom that unite the minds of men.

He was followed by Antoninus, whose peaceful reign might well be called the Golden Age of the world. Perhaps there has never been a time when the nations of the West have been so perfectly and so happily united as under the rule of this great and wise man who was called by his contemporaries "the Father of the World." Here was the apotheosis of patriarchal government, for though his power rested on the legions, their force was never needed to maintain unity. His people felt their unity with one another and honored him as the father of them all. Even the princes of India and Bactria sent to him to settle their disputes. All were at liberty, since their will agreed with his—all save the slaves, and even their condition he bettered. Moreover, there was universal freedom of thought and speech, provided only that no attack was made upon the Emperor and the government. The unifying principle had been reduced to one simple thing, the worship of the Emperor and the goddess Roma. By this the unity of the world could be maintained. If they preserved this, men were free to discuss their gods and philosophies as they chose. Here was a great change even from the days of the Greeks, who sought to preserve their sense of unity by the worship of many gods, and hence punished or executed any man who spoke irreverently of their deities or ceremonials. It was this attitude that caused the death of Socrates. The Greeks were justified in their course. Their sense of unity depended on these things and any man who attacked them, before a new basis for that unity had been supplied, put their civilization in jeopardy. The world, therefore, owed a great debt to the Emperors for so simplifying the basis of unity that men could dispute on any subject save one without endangering civilization.

In all history there is no nobler tragedy than that of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Every evil and destructive force was unchained and let loose upon the devoted head of this heroic man. While he had pestilence, earthquake and famine

to meet within the walls, the barbaric hordes suddenly attacked and broke through the barriers of the Empire on all sides. Nothing saved the civilized world but the will of this one man, who, thoughtless of himself, enduring weakness, pain and privation, threw his own dauntless courage into the breach wherever the danger was greatest, and trusting that Divine Power in which he believed as a Stoic, and loyal to his high sense of duty, never yielded till the walls of iron were restored and the Empire was safe again. And yet his very nobility and faith in men were the cause of the downfall of the Empire. He could not see the corruption and wickedness of his own wife, and the weakness of his own son, and so, abandoning the principle of adoption that had maintained the glory of the Empire, he turned over his power to the worthless Commodus.

7. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BASIS OF UNITY

This was the beginning of disaster. As has been shown, the unity of the Empire depended upon reverence for the Emperor. Commodus brought himself into ridicule by appearing in the arena to display his skill in sports. When he was murdered, the Pretorian Guard assumed the right to choose the Emperor, and having slain one Emperor, impudently offered the office to the highest bidder. A conceited and stupid senator of plethoric wealth, Didius Julianus, made the highest bid, and was invested with the purple. The other sections of the army immediately selected their candidates and there was war, until the legions of Septimius Severus were victorious. After the death of Caracalla, a succession of ignoble Emperors dragged the imperial dignity in the dust. The coward, Macrinus, fled and left his guards with no one for whom to fight. The pervert, Elagabalus, dressed himself as a bride and proposed to marry his favorite and make him Emperor. The Thracian peasant, Maximin, who was eight feet in height and ate forty pounds of meat at a meal, disgraced the purple by acts of brutal stupidity. The imperial office was given to Philip, an Arab, and Æmilianus, a Moor. It was dishonored by the fatal de-

feat of Decius by the Goths, and of Valerian by the Persian King, who stuffed the skin of the Roman Emperor, that he might be able to subject his memory to constant insult. There followed the period of the thirty tyrants, when each section of the army had its candidate and the Empire was split, as the city had been before, by the warring factions of public plunderers. So disastrous had proved the mistake of Augustus in providing no constitutional arrangement for the succession.

Fortunately, a succession of strong men gained the control at last, and Claudius, Probus and Aurelian restored by force a certain measure of unity. When Diocletian came to the throne it was evident that if a real unity were to be established there must be a new organization and plan. After such a succession of worthless and ridiculous rulers, the cultus of Emperor-worship was too absurd to be seriously contemplated by thinking men. Diocletian attempted to re-establish it. He knew that his sovereignty was the only hope of the Empire and he punished with merciless severity all those who disputed it. He adopted the diadem and the old Oriental forms and ceremonials associated with the kingship, in the hope that reverence for the office might thus be cultivated. But there was no religion whose culture could be used to reinforce the reverence he sought to introduce. Faith in the old pagan religion was practically at an end, and reverence, without a sincere belief in some god, is difficult to develop. Having done his utmost to reorganize and save the Empire, Diocletian divided it into sections under the best rulers he could select, and then abdicated his office as Lord of the World, retiring to Dalmatia to cultivate cabbages.

CHAPTER V

THE SYSTEM OF CHRISTIANITY

I. AN UNAMALGAMABLE GROUP

THE Roman Empire reached its greatest expansion under Trajan. As shown in the last chapter, that great statesman succeeded in organizing the warring tribes of the North and West and in combining them, with the Greek cities and the ancient civilization of Egypt, Syria and Africa, into one great union. The Roman legions were no longer needed to keep down subject nations. The tribes of Gaul and Spain, the civilizations of Greece and Asia Minor and Syria, of Egypt and North Africa, were all proud to be a part of the Empire. This had been accomplished by the thorough application of that culture which had introduced the worship of Rome and the Emperor even into the little towns of farthest Britain, and by granting to leading cities in each province, all the privileges of Roman citizenship, so that a boy of Tarsus could boast of being a born Roman. Each nation was content because it was allowed to keep its own gods and many of them were accepted in Rome and were worshipped in the Pantheon; therefore no one felt that it was unreasonable to worship in return the goddess Roma and the Emperor.

At this time it was reported to the Emperor that there were at different points in the Empire certain social groups that were refusing to adopt the culture on which the unifying of the Empire depended. At first they were confused with the Jews, who had been widely scattered in their various national disasters and who formed a group in each of the leading cities. They still refused positively to worship any God but their own, and kept alive the exclusive culture of prejudice which preserved them as a race apart from all others.

The Romans had become accustomed to the Jews at last. After various attempts, both persuasive and coercive, to bring them into the Roman unity, each of which ended in riot and war, they gave it up as a futile attempt and classified them as a race of fanatics who were quiet enough if let alone but dangerous insurgents if any of their customs were infringed. In Jerusalem they had been roused to fury if the eagle, the emblem of Roman sovereignty, even entered their temple court, and Titus, ensnared by the enchanting Bernice and anxious to preserve her people, was reluctantly compelled to destroy their city and temple utterly, before he could put an end to their furious insurrections. The Romans had solved the problem by allowing them their own quarter in each city, where they lived apart under their own laws, yet obedient to the laws of Rome in all respects but that of worship. They thus formed segments of a subject nation so divided that it was harmless. They accepted proselytes from other nations only under conditions which the average Roman regarded as so humiliating that there was little danger that they would gather a large following. Their whole culture was designed to keep others out rather than to increase the group.

It was soon found that these new groups differed from the Jews in not being racial. They consisted of men of all nations and were conducting a vigorous propaganda to secure adherents even among Roman citizens. As soon as a Roman joined them he refused to renew his allegiance to the Empire in the customary manner, and thus put himself outside its unifying culture. It was found that even officers of the army were being won over. It was becoming a serious matter. Investigations were made and it was reported that these groups met in secret and performed strange rites in which, it was said, they fed upon the flesh of some man and drank his blood. They worshipped a criminal who had been crucified under the reign of Tiberius. The people seemed harmless and kindly fanatics. Such is the substance of investigations reported by Tacitus, and later by Pliny, to Trajan. The dangerous element was that these people in-

sisted on remaining as aliens in any nation where they resided. It has been explained that in the ancient world national unity depended on the worship of the national god. Any one who did not so worship was outside the pale. Its unifying culture could not be brought to bear upon him. When a man moved to another country he took up the worship of the gods of that country and became thus incorporated in its social unity. This was the only means then known of unifying men. All civilization and social order rested upon it.

Now this new group not only refused to worship the gods of the country in which they lived, but asserted that it was wicked for any one, even a Roman to do so. In addition, they conducted a powerful propaganda which was influencing thousands to join them in cultivating an attitude of horror and contempt for the gods of Rome. This menaced the very existence of the Empire, the principles on which civilization was constructed. Tacitus declared that these groups were anti-social—enemies of the human race. Trajan regarded them as some of us regard the anarchists or Bolsheviks to-day, as an ignorant group of fanatics, who by the violence of their propaganda are threatening the principles on which our government and social order are built, and who therefore must be extirpated. All the great Emperors who were wise rulers and interested in unifying the Empire took this attitude. It was Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Decius and Diocletian who attempted to destroy this group. They were usually undisturbed and even favored under cruel and unscrupulous emperors such as Domitian, Commodus, and Caracalla.

The great Emperors were quite right about this group. It was destined to destroy the Empire and to disintegrate the unity of the world, as Trajan foresaw it would if allowed to increase in power.

It is important, therefore, to examine carefully the origins of this body of Christians, whom we have hitherto regarded from the political standpoint of the Roman Emperor, and with whom, in their religious aspect, we are so familiar.

2. PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. THE CULTURE OF A DIRECT SENSE OF UNITY

From what has been said of the patriarchal system, it is evident that although it did hold men together sufficiently to make civilization possible, it was nevertheless very imperfect. It was based on an indirect sense of unity; it held men together by cultivating a feeling of unity not for one another, but for the head of the race. The only way in which men could be kept from injuring one another was by cultivating reverence for the king or god and for the laws or taboos of the community, and these laws could be evaded by bringing suitable offerings. There was, therefore, great injustice and dissatisfaction under the system. It is evident that if an emotion could be discovered which would cause each man to feel so closely united to his fellow that when one was hurt the other felt pain, when the one succeeded, the other was happy, and when the one was applauded the other felt proud, all the difficulty could then be removed. If this emotion were cultivated in all men, no one would then be willing to harm his neighbor, and he would want to do to all others that which he wished they would do to him. Under these circumstances all the machinery of justice and most of the forms of patriarchal government could be dispensed with, for justice means fair treatment, and this would be granted without laws.

Perhaps the greatest thing that Christ did for the world was to reveal to men that there was such an emotion. We of to-day have learned to call it brotherly love, or sympathy, or public spirit, or humanity. He designated it in His teachings by the unusual Greek word *ἀγάπη*, to distinguish it from friendship and sex-love. Other teachers, such as Mo Ti in China and sundry of the Hebrew prophets, had seen the possibilities of this emotion, but Jesus was the first to teach it as the fundamental principle by which mankind could be unified, and to start a definite culture to develop and maintain it. In most other respects he took over the teachings of the Jewish prophets, and held the same belief

in their God as the only God, save that he felt himself united to God in a peculiarly intimate and personal sense which was quite different from that developed in the patriarchal culture, but which he wished his followers to share, since he prayed that they might be one with him and with God, in the same way in which he was one with God. All his teaching centred in developing this direct sense of unity which we may call love. He saw that the one important thing was to make men feel, and therefore behave, toward one another as brothers, and he gave his every effort and his life itself to show them how so to live.

He sought to develop in them a horror such as had been felt for crime, in connection with all divisive thoughts and words and feelings. A man who called his brother a fool or a villain deserved hell fire, for nothing was so harmful as to break up the feeling of brotherhood in any way. A man who hated his brother was as criminal as one who killed. If the sense of unity was broken by an unjust act the important thing was to restore the emotional culture at once by some act expressing love, by a gesture, an embrace, or at least by doing the supposed enemy a good turn. Men were to put this culture of love absolutely first. Their material possessions and all their powers were to be made a part of it. To express this love and make others feel it they were to share their possessions with the needy, to give each man more than he asked, and to do good to any one who harmed them. It is folly to regard this as either a political or an ethical system, or as having anything to do with justice or reward and punishment. It is purely an emotional culture, and the principle of it is: Do not tolerate any divisive thought or feeling in yourself, and when such feeling appears in some one else, overcome it by some act expressing love. It was not a question of a man's deserts, but of awakening love in him. Then the bad would become good.

The main-spring of the culture was the devotion which Jesus awakened to himself by his deeds of kindness and helpfulness to all, and by standing for the poor and the outcast, against the contempt and prejudice of those in high

places. It was only because of this trust in him that men would think of following a teaching that seemed so absolutely absurd and contrary to all human experience. For this reason the first thing in the whole system was faith in him. His followers must believe that he was right and that they really were his brothers and sons of his Father. If they really felt this, it was all that was necessary. To feel that a man is your brother is to love him, to love him is to act rightly toward him. Thus it was plain that men were saved from doing evil by faith in him. We sometimes wonder that he did not try to improve the institutions of his day, that he did not attack slavery and polygamy, and the injustice of the government. The reason is plain. He saw that if he succeeded on his own line all these evils would disappear and so he gave every effort to developing the culture of love. He opposed only those who stood directly in the way. To him religion was the chief means of developing the sense of unity. Now the Jewish religion was then controlled by two groups, one of whom, the Pharisees, were developing powerful prejudices among the people. They opposed his attitude to the outcast, hindered the expression of love and sympathy, and presented God as one more interested in petty offerings and meticulous observances than in the welfare of his children. The other group, the priests and sadducees, were using religion as a "graft" to extort money from the people. Jesus denounced both groups fearlessly and unsparingly, though he knew it meant torture and death for him.

Jesus did not busy himself with organizations. The Kingdom of Heaven that he proclaimed was merely the society produced by this relationship of universal brotherly love, in which there were no rulers to "exercise authority, as with the gentiles." He who expressed that love most perfectly in service was the greatest in the Kingdom, which had no other ruler than God.

He provided his followers with an emotional culture which they could use after his death. He gathered up the old symbolism of blood brotherhood and sacrifice, and told them that when they broke bread at their sacred meal and partook

of it they were by this act becoming one flesh with one another and with him, and when they drank the wine, they were sharing, in blood brotherhood with him, the life that gives all for love's sake. He taught them that when they thus gathered in his name they would receive a spirit from him and from God which would make them all one and which would lead them "into all truth."

With the little group of his first followers this culture seems to have succeeded. The spirit of brotherly love dwelt in them, and they had so vital a sense of unity that they shared all their possessions.

They were all Jews and retained the Jewish culture as a matter of course. The first great crisis came when it was necessary to decide whether they should remain a part of such an exclusive patriarchal system, shut off from the world by a wall of prejudice, or develop a system of their own. By the influence of Paul, they were set free from this requirement, and for the first time in the West, a religion appeared which was not a part of some racial culture or national government, but universal and for all mankind.

To analyze the primitive Christians as a social group in accordance with the principles enunciated in Chapter I is somewhat difficult. The first point of the triple basis of a group determines how its membership shall be constituted and its sense of unity maintained. In all permanent groups preceding the Christian era the basis of membership was family relation and the method of cultivating a sense of unity was the dramatization of the relationship of the individuals in the group to a common ancestor or god, by means of religious ceremonies.

The Christians, however, brought forward an entirely new idea, an idea of unity based upon a promise, or agreement. This was later to become the usual basis upon which fratriarchal groups were formed. This method is so common to-day that we do not realize how revolutionary it was at the time, or how impossible it would have seemed to an Egyptian priest or a Greek demagogue, as a means of producing any real sense of unity between men of different na-

tions. The original agreement was very simple, and seems to have been merely a promise to accept Christ as Lord. Coevally with this was maintained an emotional culture which was based on the idea that a man who thus accepted Christ entered into a mystical relationship with him more real than that of mere brotherhood by birth. A convert became one with Christ and with all Christians, and Christian ceremonies proceeded to dramatize the relationship. This belief, or attitude of oneness with Christ and brotherhood with one another, once established, was made dynamic through the cultivation of the emotion of brotherly love, or the direct feeling of unity. This acceptance of Christ as Lord was called faith, or belief in him. Later it came to mean acceptance of facts about Christ, but at first it was this feeling of confidence in him and oneness with him. The group was therefore truly fratriarchal in seeking to produce a sense of unity directly, by brotherly love.

3. THE IDEA OF A FRATRIARCHAL GOD

When we come to the second factor in the basis, that which determines its purpose and action, we find again in the earliest groups an entirely new and most amazing method. In the patriarchal system the source of all authority was the god, who gave his laws and commands through his representative, the priest or king. To a priest of that day the idea of authority as centred in God, and radiating from him by his official representatives was a self-evident truth, and he would have regarded the idea of a fratriarchal God as self-contradictory and absurd. Yet this was the astonishing contribution to the thought of the world made by Jesus and his early followers, and it was upon this that most of the subsequent great movements toward democracy and freedom were based. The idea was contained in the words of Christ, that after his death his followers would receive the Holy Spirit which would lead them into all truth and direct them in every emergency. The importance of this amazing revelation and its tremendous effect on social organization have hardly been appreciated. Man had hitherto

been able to think of God only as a patriarchal force, a king seated upon a heavenly throne and speaking only through his representative, but here is revealed a fratriarchal God, speaking through all the group as they opened their minds to him. In other words, the seat of authority is in the individual mind when illumined by inspiration. Now, of course, there were great difficulties here. In an unscrupulous crowd where each was striving for mastery and pretending inspiration, such a system would mean disruption, and under the best circumstances, it was not easy to arrive at a common purpose in this manner. Its success was contingent on the reality of the first part of the basis. If men really were one with Christ and loved each other as brothers, they might then work out a common purpose for all from the inspiration of each. The wonder and value of the idea lay in the fact that God was not presented as an absolute monarch who had thundered forth certain eternal immutable commands for all men for all time, but as One who speaks to each individual differently according to his need, and varies his commands according to the emergency. Commands might therefore seem contradictory and yet be true and right. To obey and worship such a God it was necessary that each should not only believe and obey his own inspiration but that he should also believe that the inspiration of his neighbor, though contradictory to his own, was equally true for the other. In this way harmonious action could be worked out, and it is interesting to note how it was done in the early church, by means of prayer which brought conflicting inspirations into harmony.

It would be absurd to state that Jesus did not think of God as a Father. He emphasized strongly the relation of all men to him as children. But when it came to the method by which the group was to be governed it would seem that this idea of the fratriarchal God, revealed through the Holy Spirit, was the one that prevailed. We shall see later how this fratriarchal idea of God speaking through the individual, became mingled with the patriarchal idea that divine authority was expressed in definite, universal, unchange-

able and inviolable statements, and how this unfortunate combination produced the thought monopoly. Each individual who was conscious of inspiration regarded himself as an organ of patriarchal authority with the right to command all others, instead of seeing that his inspiration was fratriarchal and designed to be combined with that of others.

As to the form by which the purpose was carried out, it was at first very simple. Necessary officers and ministers were chosen by lot. The main purpose was to save men. The prevalent idea in the pagan world was that of an all encompassing force of evil or miasma, from which a man was protected by religious ceremonials which kept him in touch with mana or divine power. With the Jews, emphasis had been put upon anti-social or immoral acts as exposing a man to evil. It was supposed that any disobedience to any of the ceremonial laws made a man liable to the wrath of God. The Christians taught that men could escape all the powers of evil and the danger of punishment, by faith in Christ—that is by accepting him and becoming one with him.

Their laws and rules and standards were not at first set forth in a definite code, enforced by a system of judges. Their standard was the kind of life Christ led, and they believed that if any man truly accepted him he would then be so perfectly at one with Christ that he could not fail to lead the life. So that everything—the sense of unity, the government, the salvation and the standard—centred on this belief in Christ. We have here, then, a unity which seems as purely fratriarchal as any union could be. It was exclusive in the sense that it involved a very high standard, yet open to all, since the only requirement was loyalty to Christ.

Most men of the day would have regarded it as an utterly absurd idea. To suppose that men of different races and of different social position and intellectual capacity could, by a mere promise, be combined into a unity that was anything more than a ridiculous pretense, seemed impossible. Such unities by agreement had existed among the Jews, as in the case of the Essenes and Pharisees, but there the members were all men of the same race and condition. The church

proposed to combine the fanatical Jew, the cultured Greek, the untamed barbarian from Scythia, the haughty Roman, and the menial slave all in one group where they would have a real sense of unity, and stand together against the world. It was the most amazing and incredible attempt ever made, and the most astounding thing was that it succeeded. Under the compelling emotional culture of the early church all these divisive barriers of prejudice fell away, and Paul tells us that there was no longer Greek and Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, but Christ was all in all. In other words, they were so vitally conscious of their union with Christ, that all divisive feelings were swallowed up. No better proof can be required of what an emotional culture can do, and of the special efficacy of the method and idea of Christ.

The basis of unity soon changed from that of a mere promise, but the idea of a unity constituted by a promise or agreement remained, and we shall return to it later.

4. THE CHANGE TO THE PATRIARCHAL EXCLUSIVE SYSTEM

We come now to the consideration of the causes that transformed this primitive fratriarchal group to one of the most powerful groups of the patriarchal order that has ever existed. Mention has been made of the fact that some of the Jewish ideas passed over into the conceptions of the Christians. The Jews believed that their God was the only God. They believed, also, that any one who disobeyed any of his laws or ceremonial rules, no matter how trifling they might seem, or who worshipped any other god, or held any other belief, was guilty of grievous sin and doomed by the wrath of God. Like the Jews, the Christians looked with horror upon those who practised other religions and worshipped other gods. It may be that they could not have preserved their own purity of character without this divisive emotional attitude toward the corrupt practices around them. While Christ showed an attitude of indignation toward injustice and cruelty, he never allowed this emotion to crystallize into

the enduring and increasing prejudice against certain classes which was the Jewish attitude, and which was destined, only too soon, to be adopted by the Christians also. There is a difference between the idea that one has a belief that will save, and the idea that any one who does not hold that belief will inevitably be damned. It was this latter belief that the Christians took over from the Jews and which proved so fatal in later years.

In the second place, a difficulty arose from the Christian conception of authority. Many leaders appeared who issued commands in the name of the Spirit, assuming thus that they had a unique fratriarchal authority. Some of these commands were contradictory and some seemed contrary to the teachings of Christ. To do away with this confusion, a collection was made of the teachings of Christ and of certain authenticated biographies and letters of men who knew him, and these were passed upon by the church, as the canon by which all their teachings should be judged. Authority was shifted from the voice of the Spirit to a book, and thus took on a more patriarchal character.

This, however, was not sufficient. The book was interpreted in widely different ways by different leaders, and various sections, such as the Gnostics or Marcionites, which had sprung up, all claimed their justification by referring to certain texts. As this involved questions of morals as well as of belief, it became necessary for Christians to define their authority more clearly. Now the Spirit had always been recognized as the supreme authority and also as the power that transformed man and saved him from punishment. It was simply a question as to who had this Spirit. It was stated in the canon that Jesus breathed on Peter and on the apostles and said "Receive ye the Spirit." They in turn laid their hands on the officers who were chosen by the people, with the same formula, and these officers in their turn passed the gift along in the same manner. From this was developed the theory that the Spirit was only in those to whom it had thus been communicated by contact, that such men only could speak with authority, and since the posses-

sion of the Spirit meant salvation, they could communicate it or withhold it at will. For salvation, then, two things were required: first, the individual desiring it must participate in the sacraments of the church administered by one to whom authority had been given by the laying on of hands; and second, he must accept as his creed what those in authority told him to believe. The old idea of faith as trust in Christ and in the life of love, had gradually been changed until faith meant the intellectual acceptance of certain statements about Christ.

Whether the presentation of early Christianity given above is correct or not, and there is much dispute concerning it, it is certainly true that in the third century the church appeared as an organization of the type that we have termed the exclusive patriarchal. Its basis was a standard given by patriarchal authority and was twofold: contact with Christ through the authorized sacraments, and belief in certain authorized statements. Its form was patriarchal. Authority was vested in Christ and communicated from him to the apostles, from them to the bishops, and from them to the priests and laity. The culture, while it still operated to awaken the old emotion of brotherly love, was now increasingly directed to produce reverence for authority. Stately ceremonials cultivated an awe of the priesthood. Christ was exalted as the stern judge of all the earth, who would punish by torments of everlasting fire those who disobeyed the commands of his representatives, or who doubted any of the statements about him that they promulgated. The two main points at which the church differed as a system from the other patriarchal religions of the day were, first, that it was not a national religion, and, second, that it was monopolistic, and denounced all other religions as evil, and maintained that belief in them insured eternal punishment.

5. THE NECESSITY OF A STATE RELIGION

Diocletian had kept the Empire in unity by his personal prestige, maintained through emperor-worship and by the force of arms. He left it divided between four heads, and

after his abdication, was obliged to sit passively in his garden at Spalato and watch the world he had created go to pieces under the furious rivalries of its leaders, who did not spare even the daughters of their former benefactor in the savage destruction they began. When Constantine finally triumphed by crushing one rival after another, his problem was to reorganize an Empire that had been reduced to chaos. His only hope was a strong centralized authority in the Oriental style. He moved the capital to Constantinople to escape from the tradition of Rome, and took over the splendor of ceremonial and apparel initiated by Diocletian. He even wore false hair of striking and original colors. He saw the absolute necessity of a religion to maintain his throne, for two reasons. First, the old reverence for the Emperor, which had held the Empire together in the time of the Antonines, was gone and it was necessary to find something more potent than mere millinery to restore it. Moreover, all the old taboo barriers by which law had been maintained were gone. Men no longer felt horror at the thought of transgression. This resulted in a moral chaos in which every man obeyed his impulses. Constantine sought to check this. He made a law that any man who seduced a girl under twenty-five should be burned alive. If she confessed that it was by her consent she was burned with him. This attempt to enforce law by fear of punishment, instead of by the old barrier of horror at a deed that unchained upon the transgressor the miasmatic powers of evil, was probably as futile as such attempts usually are. The barrier emotion is not strong enough to check the impulse, and there is always the chance of avoiding detection. This did not exist in the old system where the punishment was inevitable.

Constantine, therefore, began the quest for an adequate religion. Other Emperors had done this before. Elagabalus had sought to introduce an Oriental monotheism in place of the religion of Rome, but it had proved a failure, as it was too alien to the spirit and customs of the people. Alexander Severus had planned an eclectic religion of hero-worship, in which Christ was to be worshipped together with Or-

pheus, Abraham and Cicero, but his efforts produced chaos rather than unity. Diocletian had favored the religion of Mithra. This had first been introduced under Aurelian. It was a noble religion in many ways, with a belief in immortality and with high standards of purity. It was a thoroughly organized system, divided into seven progressive grades. It was, moreover, a man's religion, helpful in warfare, and held by many in the army. It was, however, exclusive toward women, and this weakened it in an empire where, in religion, women were dominant.

6. THE QUALIFICATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY

Constantine favored Mithraism at first and used the emblem of the sun, "sol invictus," on his banner. It is said that before the battle with Magnentius there occurred the atmospheric phenomenon of the solar cross, which Constantine adopted as an omen of victory, placing the cross on his banners. It proved a unifying symbol, acceptable to Christians as well as to the Mithraic sun-worshippers, and he retained it. After this battle he gave the Christians liberty of worship as a "permitted religion." It was soon evident that while other religions were exclusive about their ceremonies and willing to amalgamate their gods, the Christians were willing to amalgamate their ceremonies, but were absolutely exclusive about their God. They felt that any recognition of any other god let loose upon them all the powers of evil and exposed them to everlasting punishment. In other words, they had developed an absolute taboo on other gods, with all the associated feelings of horror. A survival of this taboo feeling is seen in Edmund Gosse's book *Father and Son*, where the boy bows down and worships a chair, crying out, "O Chair!" and then awaits instant destruction.

It therefore seemed possible to get other religions to accept the Christian God if their ceremonies did not too greatly conflict. With the original Christianity such a union would have been impossible. It has been shown that Christ was a successor of the Hebrew prophets. These great men had shown true inspiration in applying the old system of taboo

to spiritual things. "Cleanse your hearts and not your garments," they had said. The clean heart was their aim, and this meant cleansing the mind of every thought and impulse that harmed others. Such thoughts and acts were the defilement that separated men from divine power and this defilement could only be removed by sincere repentance. They had thus idealized the whole ancient system and sought to make it the means whereby the old horror of miasma would be applied to prevent unjust and unworthy deeds.

Christ had gone even further by attempting to do away with the old system of taboo on material things. He taught that it was not the food that entered the body that defiled, but the unjust words and deeds that came from the heart. It was not the washing of hands that cleansed from the power of evil, it was purging out divisive and destructive impulses and thoughts. It was better to cut out these things from the life at the expense of maiming it, than to expose oneself to the evil resulting from them, which he described as "the fires of hell." His death was largely the result of his opposition to the ceremonial taboos, especially the one on the seventh day or Sabbath.

7. RESEMBLANCE TO PAGAN RITUAL

After the death of Christ, Paul and the author of Hebrews had sought to harmonize His teachings with the old system of the Jews and Greeks, and this process had gone on as already described until Christianity had become one of the religions of the usual mana and miasma type, with ceremonies that affiliated it with the pagan cultus.

The sense of unity was achieved not by direct communion with one another and with God, but by an elaborate system of mana worship. The Christian God had been changed from the loving Father of Christ to a god similar to the Jewish Jehovah, charged with terrifying mana. The miasma now centred in a Devil who with his forces of evil infested objects and people, and was always seeking to spread the dire infection which not only brought suffering in this world, but unspeakable and eternal torment in the life beyond.

Every one was infected with this miasma, which was no longer a moral quality but a universal contagion termed "original sin." The only escape from it was through the mana of Christ, in accordance with certain ceremonials. He was worshipped in the form of images as were the old gods, but his mana was so powerful that the people did not venture to approach him directly but only through his mother and various saints who had acquired mana, and whose images they worshipped. The ceremonials of cleansing from infection had been taken over from the older systems. A man from the outside world could not enter the Christian group or hope to escape evil without a ceremony of cleansing from miasma, called baptism. The Christian was cleansed from the pervasive power of evil, by sacrifice as in the systems of the Romans and Jews. The surprising idea was elaborated that as High Priest and King (or Messiah) Christ sacrificed himself, after the sins of the people had been laid upon his head, as was done by the Jews in the case of the sacrifice of the lamb or by pagans in the sacrifice of the king's son. In this case, as the victim was regarded as God, the sacrifice had the same value as the sacrifice of the god in the Mithraic and Greek ritual. Its mana was strong enough to disarm the miasmatic forces, represented by the devil and his angels, and to save the people from the disasters and torments to which they were otherwise doomed. To become effective, this sacrifice must be re-enacted in a solemn ceremonial, in which the crucifixion was presented in the form of an image, and the body and blood of the victim were represented as bread and wine which had been miraculously changed by the priest into the flesh and blood of Christ. The culture of the universal contagion or "original sin" developed the same emotion of horror as the old taboos of the savages, and a very tremendous ceremonial was necessary to remove the sense of guilt this engendered. To avail oneself of the ceremony, it was also necessary to repeat certain formulæ which had, as of old, a magic value in disarming evil. These saving formulæ were adapted from statements about the nature of God or of the mana, and any

mistake in them exposed one at once both to the powers of evil and to the wrath of the mana.

Following the cleansing was the ceremony of unification, in which each participant partook of a fragment of the body of Christ. This gave the communicants the sense of unity with him, and also supplied them with his power or mana. The mana was also communicated by sprinkling, at the hands of the priest, and by contact with sacred objects or images.

It is plain that such a system covered nearly every essential point in the other religions and coincided with them in everything but name. It was only necessary to persuade the pagans that the Christian God was really their own chief god, and they would find, in the images of the numerous saints, the means to replace their lesser divinities. Christianity was a universal religion and not national like the Jewish or Hindu. The church was more successful in the culture of the barrier emotions of the taboo by which laws were enforced, than any other religion. If the Emperor were recognized by all his subjects as the representative of Christ, he would then have behind him the necessary unification culture. For one thing that recommended Christianity to Constantine was the wonderful system of unification built up by its organization under bishops and priests. Other religions had relied on the civil government for their organization, but Christianity was a universal state, organized independently of all national governments, and it now held the world together when national governments were failing.

8. THE ADOPTION OF CHRISTIANITY

Accordingly, in 324 A. D. Christianity was made the state religion by the Emperor Constantine. In 382 A. D. Paganism was definitely disestablished by Gratian and the altar of Victoria removed from the Senate chamber. It was not until the time of Theodosius that edicts were issued punishing any other form of worship than the Christian. Thus at last a thoroughly patriarchal system was established in which the Christian religion was the unifying and law-enforcing emotional culture of the government.

Christianity, with all its adoption of the pagan system, had retained the prophetic idea of the clean heart and of unethical acts as being the worst form of evil. Very special ceremonials of purification were required to cleanse from the guilt these acts entailed. The Christian system also kept up the direct culture of brotherly love, and the belief in one universal God who was in all. Therefore it should have been able to unify the world but for one serious defect. Its authority was originally democratic and depended on individual inspiration. No means had been discovered, however, by which these various inspirations could be harmonized and unified. It was a different matter from securing a unified purpose in a democracy, for there individual purposes could be modified and fused, while here each inspired man felt that he spoke with the direct authority of God himself, and therefore could not, in conscience, change. We have seen how a check was put on this by the sacred book, and by the consecrated priesthood, who transmitted authority by touch. This was not enough. Even among these authorities there arose disputes as to the nature of God and Christ. These things were vital, for on them were based the formulæ which saved men from the power of the Devil. Such a situation had often occurred in time past between rival soothsayers or prophets, but then the evil from which they proposed to save was immediate and material. The pragmatic test was applied as readily as to the prescriptions of rival doctors, and the one who failed was promptly put to death as an impostor. Here, however, no such test was possible. The evil from which they proposed to save men was in the next world and no one could report whether they succeeded or not. Nor could the absolute truth of the formulæ be tested in any way, as all were beyond human knowledge.

9. THE TRUTH MONOPOLY

This situation made it possible for a very extraordinary idea to develop and find acceptance. The idea was, that a man or a group of men may acquire and maintain a monopoly of truth. In other words, it was held possible for a man or a

group of men to make a statement of truth so complete that any alteration or modification of it was inevitably false, so essential that any one who did not accept it was doomed to eternal torment, and therefore so important that any one who opposed it must be regarded as a heretic and blasphemer, and punished as severely as the law would allow. It seems surprising that such a view should have gained credence in a world where Greek philosophic thought still ruled, but such was the case.

Constantine met it first in the case of a man named Donatus, whose formula clashed with that usually accepted, and threatened to divide the Western church. Constantine called a council of bishops at Arles and, to secure unity, enforced the decision of the majority against the Donatists.

This was as nothing in comparison with the dispute which arose between Athanasius and Arius. Each was absolutely convinced that he held the monopoly of the truth. Later, when decision had been rendered against him, Athanasius, alone, from his hiding-place in the desert sent forth his defiance, *Athanasius contra mundum*; meaning that he was convinced that he, Athanasius, was right in the formula he had promulgated and all the world wrong and doomed to perdition unless it repented. Certainly the monopoly idea could not be carried further. One man was able to maintain his theological formula against the entire world, and actually believed, and made all men believe that they must come to his point of view or be lost. In the controversy, Athanasius asserted that Christ was coeternal with God and of the same being, yet different from the Father. Arius asserted that Christ had a beginning in time and was of a substance which, although different from God, was yet the same. To Athanasius the distinction was vital, but to many it seems more a difference in emphasis than in substance of belief, since one asserted that though the same the Father and Son were different, the other, that though different they were yet the same. Each held the deep conviction that any man who did not believe as he did was a blasphemer and eternally lost. Furious quarrels resulted in all the churches.

Each party developed a liturgy by which the emotions of their followers were roused to the highest pitch. Any sort of defamation or assault was deemed meritorious, to rid the world of a leader of the opposite party. Constantine, as a wise statesman, did what he could at the Council of Nicæa to harmonize these two parties, but soon discovered that among men inoculated with this new idea no compromise is possible; for when each knows he is absolutely right and his opponent absolutely wrong, no man with a conscience can think of compromise. The idea of the thought monopoly went forth upon its way to divide and destroy the empire Constantine had hoped to protect. It divided even the family of Constantine himself. When in desperation the Athanasian monopoly was finally indorsed as the only true belief and the Arians were driven from their churches, their belief, planted by missionaries, still went on among the Goths and returned with them upon the Empire, a century later, to tear it asunder with the same old strife and to spread the battle as far as Spain.

The strife between Athanasian and Arian was only the beginning. Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople and supposedly the chief authority in the church, stated that Christ had two natures, one human and one divine. An opposing group asserted that he had but one nature. Again arose a furious conflict as a result of which the Egyptian or Coptic church, supporting the one-nature theory, split from the rest, and the Armenian church also left the fold. On the other hand, Nestorius was driven out and his followers took refuge in Syria and Persia. The emperor Heraclius, seeking to harmonize the warring elements, adopted the theory that Christ might have had two natures united by one will. He gained some followers to this doctrine and then all sides turned upon these and expelled them, so that they still remain apart as the Maronite church of Syria. The Orthodox church branded all the others as heretics and blasphemers, doomed to eternal punishment, and started a persecution in which thousands perished and many more lost all their possessions. This was the *coup de grace* for the Empire. That

vast civilization, which should have had "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who was above all and through all and in all," was a mass of warring factions, each claiming the monopoly of the truth and the right to persecute and destroy all other groups, whom it hated more bitterly than any foreign invader.

As a result, the Nestorians aided the Persians to defeat the orthodox armies of Heraclius, the people of Egypt threw open their gates to the Mohammedan invaders, preferring them to the rule of the orthodox Christians. The armies of Heraclius, exhausted by the war with Persia, could not stand against the wild fanaticism of the Arab forces. If the western half of the Empire had stood by the eastern, it might have been saved in the final attack by the Turks, but these sections became hopelessly divided over the monopoly of the truth concerning the Holy Spirit and various other questions of ceremonial. The Western Empire held that the Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, and the East that it was from the Father alone. Each considered the other section to consist of heretics and blasphemers, and to deserve any disaster which might overtake it. In spite of the earnest efforts of such Emperors as were statesmen to reconcile them, the vehemence of their emotional bias rendered every such effort a mere formality. Step by step, therefore, the two sections of the old Empire, disunited and each with its quarrelling groups, went down before the assault of barbarian and pagan, and all the great civilization of Rome was shattered to fragments. Constantine's great experiment had failed. Diocletian's estimate was justified. Christianity, instead of saving it, had wrecked the civilization of the world.

Now this is not to say that the Roman civilization could have been saved but for Christianity. The difficulty was not that the Christian teaching or religion was not true. It lay in the attempt to combine a fratriarchal emotional culture with patriarchal forms. It was a case of putting new wine into old bottles. In spite of its transformation to patriarchal forms, there was enough of the fratriarchal left in Christi-

anity to wreck the Empire. If Constantine had eliminated the one idea of the fratriarchal God who spoke by inspiration in the hearts of men, and replaced it with the idea that he spoke authoritatively only through some one Emperor or Pope, all might have been well. Some new emotional culture was a necessity. All the old religions were outworn and had lost their grip on the human soul, as the Emperor Julian discovered when, in disgust at the failure of Constantine's experiment, he tried to reinstate the gods of Rome and give them a philosophic interpretation. No other religion of the day had the emotional power of Christianity. It had the essentials for success,—a creed on which the whole world could unite, a system of symbolism and ceremonial more powerful to influence men's hearts than any the world has ever known. Unquestionably it would have succeeded and regenerated and unified the Roman Empire but for the appearance of this one idea, as to the possibility of truth monopolies, which resulted from the strange confusion of two systems—the conception of a fratriarchal God speaking in each man and then enforcing his diverse statements by patriarchal authority.

CHAPTER VI

MOHAMMEDANISM

INTRODUCTION

CHRISTIANITY was not the only fratriarchal emotional culture that appeared at the critical moment in the world's history. Just when the failure of Christianity to unify the world was becoming evident another emotional culture appeared in a forgotten corner of the world, which by avoiding certain mistakes made by the Christian leaders nearly succeeded in dominating the world. It was essentially fratriarchal in spirit, so far as the relations of men were concerned, but instead of adopting the idea of a fratriarchal Divine authority that had proved so fatal to the Christian government, it clung to the old patriarchal idea of a God who though universal, spoke with an authority which was unmistakable and perfectly unified. With all its defects, this system did much to save the world from chaos and still holds a large section of the world in unity. It therefore deserves careful and thorough study.

I. THE WRECK OF CIVILIZATION

In the fifth and sixth centuries the civilized world stood on the verge of chaos. The old emotional cultures that had made civilization possible, since they had given to men a sense of unity and of reverence for their rulers, had broken down, and nothing had been found adequate to take their place. For three or four thousand years the Egyptians and Semites of Babylonia had held large sections of the world together by the method of amalgamation of tribal gods and by the application of the resulting mana to the throne. Then for a thousand years these tribes had been subject to alien Aryan races. The religion of the Persians was unamalgama-

ble with that of the tribes they conquered and these had been held by no real sense of unity but chiefly by fear and the habit of obedience. The Greeks had attempted the old amalgamation method, but were impeded by the unamalgamable Persian element. The little Roman democracy had come to conquer and exploit the East, but had been forced to surrender to the spirit of the East, and adopt its methods of the amalgamation of gods and deification of the Emperor. In spite of the culture of the Emperor-worship, the Romans remained alien and hated overlords in the East, and gradually the old belief in the gods, which was the basis of the whole system of the reverence culture, faded away under the blight of the general scepticism which resulted from the conflict of so many faiths.

The method of amalgamation was of value so long as each little group had a powerful culture of its own which kept it obedient to its own laws and traditions. These groups could then be combined under an overlord, and learn to obey the imperial laws in addition to their own. But when there was constant contact of conflicting cultures each group lost faith in its own traditions, as it saw them contradicted by its neighbors, and with the loss of faith in its own religion came a general scepticism as to the validity of all such sanctions.

The only group that had retained its sanctions unimpaired was that of the Jews, protected by its impervious wall of prejudice. This group was still racial, but the Christian group although universal, had retained the exclusive character of the Jewish group from which it sprang, and its violent prejudice against all other religions. It was, therefore, the only interracial group that had preserved the sanctions necessary to civilization. It was in part for this reason that Constantine took Christianity for the state religion, and attempted to apply it as a culture of reverence for the throne, as the old religions had been used. Unfortunately it was felt by most Christians that any persons who did not assent to their creed were doomed to destruction, and so infected with evil that it was a duty to force them by per-

secution to change their belief or else to drive them from the community. This had created bitter feeling between the Christians and those of other religions, and caused great difficulty with the Persian Zoroastrians. The latter was not originally an exclusive group, but under the great Persian king Chosroes, the Christians in his kingdom plotted so continually against his government and religion that he was obliged to persecute them in turn and drive them from his dominion.

The Eastern Empire of Rome was divided among the various Christian sects, and as a result of the miasma system, each regarded the rest with a horror greater than one would feel for the most repulsive savage. Thus, although the sanctions were adequate, the unities they produced were likely to destroy one another, and to arouse the enmity of all outsiders. The Western Roman Empire had gone down beneath the onslaughts of the Northern barbarians and chaos reigned already west of Constantinople. The rest of the known world of that day from India to Syria, after the overthrow of the Greek Empire and that of the Parthians, had been under the sway of the Sassanian Persians. These rulers were Zoroastrians and had not succeeded in introducing their religion among the Semitic tribes, nor had they any emotional culture powerful enough to influence vitally the mass of the Persian people. The later kings were weak and effeminate, the aristocracy was degenerate, and the Magian priesthood corrupt. The whole empire had no real unity, and was ready to fall to pieces.

It seemed then that the great civilization that it had taken four thousand years to construct was on the verge of disintegration, and that mankind was likely to return to that condition of barbarism where every tribe and sect was against the next, and law and order were unknown. The old tribal sanctions had lost their power. Hence the old imperial methods would no longer operate. The new sanctions created by Christianity were working division and destruction instead of unity and order. It was a time fraught with tragedy. Civilization, like a gigantic tree whose foliage had

overarched the world and whose branches had borne the golden fruits of art and science and literature, stood tottering, its trunk no longer alive with the flowing sap of devotion and reverence, but rotted to the core, riven by the storms of war, and held together only by the cords of ancient customs and laws, that might snap at any moment. Was there any emotional culture that could be brought in, to gather mankind once more into unity and to save civilization? This culture must be something of a new type, for the old sanctions and ceremonials were dead, and to build up others of the same kind would be the work of centuries.

2. THE NECESSITY OF A NEW UNIFICATION CULTURE

To save the world then, some new culture must be devised to take the place of the old systems of unification, which were based on blood relationship. This was valueless in dealing with the vast mixed population, of every tribe and blood. Christianity had taught a universal brotherhood, but the bitter intolerance of the Christians toward one another and toward outsiders made the world suspicious of any brotherhood advertised by them. The Zoroastrians had taught a universal kingdom of righteousness, but in practice this had meant the subjection of the world to worthless kings and an unscrupulous aristocracy. The Jews also anticipated a universal kingdom but to them it meant a conquest by which all men should be compelled to become Jews. It seemed that the only basis of unification for civilization must be a universal brotherhood which was not based on blood relationship.

In the second place, something was needed to replace the old culture of the throne by which the laws had been enforced and thousands had been brought to act in unison. Behind this culture had been the old mana and miasma system, and the elaborate ceremonials of the priesthood, whereby mana had been bestowed upon the king and his commands had been supported by the oracles of the priests. Faith in these ceremonials was gone. It would take many centuries to

build up new ceremonials which would be equally efficacious. Some new way must be discovered, by bestowing mana upon a leader directly and simply, so that there should be no chance of conflict in authority.

It seems amazing that there should have arisen just at the time when it was most needed a culture of precisely the type outlined above. It is perhaps natural that it should have come from tribes that had not been involved in any of the ancient cultures. In the deserts of Arabia, some of the old nomadic Semitic tribes still remained uninfluenced by civilization. They kept their old tribal organization and spent their time in marauding expeditions and blood feuds, each against the other. Each tribe had its god, represented by some crude image or fetich, and their festivals still had many of the corrupt features of the old mother-worship. The continual blood feuds led to unbelievable savagery and cruelty. We are told that after one of the battles following the Hejira, Hind, the leading lady of Mecca, and grandmother of the future Caliph Moawiyah, had the liver torn from the dead body of Mohammed's uncle and sent to her as a trophy. The birth of a girl was regarded as an ill omen, and girl babies were often buried alive.

It was among these people that the man was born who was to unite the whole known world of the east and south, from the pillars of Hercules to farthest India and the steppes of Mongolia, in one great brotherhood. Mohammed was grandson of Hashim, the head of the Koreish tribe, which controlled the sacred shrine and market at Mecca, and was recognized as a leader among the tribes of the desert. Tradition says that Hashim had sought to sacrifice Abdullah, Mohammed's father, to the idol at Mecca, but had been prevented by some omen. Mohammed, whatever the cause may have been, grew up with a horror of the idolatry, cruelty, bloodshed and infanticide that surrounded him. This is not the place to discuss the sincerity of his character nor the truth of his religion, but rather to consider what he did for civilization and how it was done. What he wished to do was, first, to unite the warring Arab tribes, second, to give

them a new code which would prevent idolatry, infanticide, blood feuds, and the old corrupt heathen rites, and, finally, he wished to make them all obedient to one leader, himself. All this, which at the time seemed an impossibility, he accomplished.

3. THE METHOD OF MOHAMMED

When we consider the method of Mohammed, it is plain that the crux of the matter was in the last of the three points just mentioned. How should he get the men of Arabia to render him that implicit obedience which mankind had been accustomed to give only to kings and gods. He had no ancient ceremonial to impress them, nor did he seek to accomplish his end in this way. There was a simpler method which has often served to give one man complete sway over his fellows, which was known to the early Hebrews, and which was used until recently by the chiefs of Tonga and Fiji. The method of such a leader was to convince men that he was possessed by the mana or Divine Spirit at certain times, if not always, and that the words which he spoke when under this influence were the Word of God, and must be obeyed no matter what the cost. Ridiculed and mocked at first, Mohammed succeeded at last in persuading a small group of men that the words he heard during his vision and repeated, were the voice of God. He was asked continually for a sign that these words were from God, but could give none that was satisfactory until the first battle in which the Koreish, who attacked him, were defeated. This was regarded as a sign, and after each successful battle more converts flocked to him. Thus at length he came to be regarded as the fount of mana. Khalid, the heroic and invincible soldier, who subdued Syria, and was known as the "sword of Allah," wore always a cap that had belonged to Mohammed, with the unquestioning assurance that with that cap upon his head no sword could wound him. So completely had Mohammed convinced men that the Divine power dwelt in him.

4. THE GOD OF ISLAM

If the most important point was to convince the people that the Divine mana dwelt in Mohammed and spoke through him, it was of almost equal importance to determine what was the source and character of this mana, whether it was an ancient god or a new one, whether ethical or non-ethical, local or universal, amalgamable or exclusive in character. Mohammed's first assertion which was the basis of all his teaching, was that his god Allah was the one and only God. This made Allah both exclusive and universal. Mohammed, however, had no idea of setting up an exclusive Arab god in opposition to the god of the Jews, and the Christians. On the contrary, he had heard something of the Jewish and Christian God, and it was this God whom he intended to adopt as the source of his power. His revelation stated that Moses was the first great prophet who had revealed the will and nature of this God, that Jesus was the second, and that he, Mohammed, was the third and greatest of the prophets since through him the final revelation of God's will was given to mankind. The essence of his religion was expressed in the simple formula, which has been the watchword of Islam ever since: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." He expected that both Jews and Christians would accept his revelation and leadership, and that thus the whole religious world would be unified. With this idea, his followers were at first told to pray facing toward Jerusalem, since this was the seat of the God of the Jews. The Jews had no objection to the first part of the formula that there was no God but *God*, but they positively declined to accept the statement that Mohammed was his prophet. To gain the support of his kinsmen it was necessary for Mohammed to identify his God with the one whom they already worshipped. He, therefore, stated that the God who spoke to him was the old God Allah of Mecca, and that his worship had been corrupted by idolatry. In order not to alienate the Koreish, he made at first a statement that the three daughters of Allah were worthy of reverence, but as

he became conscious of his power he withdrew this statement, and compelled his followers to renounce this allegiance to the feminine portion of the Godhead.

To attempt to introduce an entirely new god has usually proved fatal to the reformer. Mohammed was probably wise in attaching his new culture to the old religion, since he could thus gather to himself such force as there was in the old reverence culture. Allah of Mecca had gained his prestige at the time of the so called "Elephant Raid" when he had saved his adherents from the attack of the Abyssinians. It was at this time that Mohammed's grandfather proposed to sacrifice the prophet's father to Allah. The fame of the god was widely spread as a result of the victory, and pilgrims came to his shrine in the Kaaba from all over Arabia. With his worship was associated that of the Black Stone, an ancient tribal totem, which was probably a meteorite. When Mohammed captured Mecca, he rode triumphantly around the Kaaba and overthrew all the images of Allah and his daughters, but kept the Black Stone as an object of veneration, probably as an indication that his god was the same as the old Allah. When he became convinced that the Jews and Christians would not accept his religion, he directed his followers to pray toward this shrine of Allah at Mecca. His god was thus defined as the one and only God, the same ethical and exclusive God who had been revealed to the Jews and Christians and who had been worshipped in unworthy forms at Mecca by men who were ignorant of his commands against idolatry. Mohammed would have had a really perfect basis for world unification if the Jews and Christians had been willing to accept him as the final prophet of their God. But the vital point of the system lay in this belief in his prophetic office, for without it no unity of direction and action was possible. He could make no concession here and when his appeal to the Jews and Christians was denied he was thrown into an attitude of hostility to the other religions. It is said that he sent messages both to the Christian Emperor Heraclius at Constantinople, and to the Persian King at Ctesiphon, demanding that they should

recognize him as the authoritative mouthpiece of the God whom they worshipped. It was certainly a grandiose plan for saving the world, and its only weak point was Mohammed himself, who was unable to convince the followers of Moses, Christ and Zoroaster that he was a greater prophet than his predecessors.

5. UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

We have spoken of the mana of Mohammed, of its sources and of his plan for concentrating it in such fashion that he would become dictator of the whole world, a plan which was surely the invention of no mean and petty mind. It remains to consider the basis upon which he planned to constitute his world unity. His fellow tribesmen were continually pressing him to base it like other primitive groups on blood relationship, and to limit its privileges to the Koreish or at least to the Arabs. He was far too great a man to yield to this proposition. The lofty idea of a universal brotherhood had dawned upon him, and he was not to be diverted from it.

We have spoken of the new idea brought in by the Christians, of a unity constituted by agreement. With them, at first, this agreement was simply a pledge of loyalty to Christ, and all who were willing to give this pledge became a part of the organization. Later the pledge of loyalty became changed to an assent to a creedal statement, which was so complex and difficult of comprehension that it became the occasion of the many divisions in the church. The basis of membership in Islam was virtually a pledge of loyalty to Mohammed, though it was couched in the form of an assent to the creed, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet." This involved loyalty to a moral code, for Allah was presented as an ethical god like Yahwe, and his commands, proclaimed through his prophet, formed a definite moral code, obedience to which was exacted from all Moslems. Idolatry, blood feuds, infanticide and cruelty were forbidden, as was also the eating of swine's flesh and the

drinking of wine. One reason for the success of Islam was that the moral standard thus set was not too high for the average man of that day. Polygamy and slavery were allowed, though they were restricted, and no man save the prophet could have more than four wives. Abnormal virtues such as asceticism and celibacy were not required for holiness.

In addition to the prohibitions, four duties were laid upon all Moslems—first, prayer; second, almsgiving, which was gradually altered to a tax on all the faithful; third, the fast of Ramadan, which had no ceremonial value, but was a matter of self discipline; and finally the pilgrimage to Mecca. Aside from this, there was no ceremonial or ritual nor was there any priesthood. The commands of God reported by the prophet were written down and gathered in a book, the Koran, which became the authoritative statement of the will of God, and the main seat of the mana, next to the prophet himself. In his battle against Ali, Moawiyah ordered his soldiers to tie copies of the Koran to their lances, whereupon the soldiers of Ali, convinced that they contended against the mana, refused to fight further. In spite of superstitious elements, here was a truly marvellous reform. Mohammed had created a religion which had none of the features of the ancient cults, no priesthood, and no ceremonial, which was based on no forms but upon a spiritual relationship to an unseen God. It was not designed to give prestige to a special group but to create a universal brotherhood composed of all men of every race who would accept this God and promise loyalty to his prophet.

6. THE SENSE OF UNITY

The vast difficulty of creating any sense of unity or solidarity in such a group is apparent. All historians declare that the amazing success of Islam in dominating the world lay in the astounding coherence or sense of unity in the group, but they do not explain how this miracle was worked. There can be little doubt that one of the most effective means

was prayer. The five daily prayers, when all the faithful wherever they were, alone in the grim solitude of the desert or in vast assemblies in the crowded city, knelt and prostrated themselves toward Mecca, uttering the same words of adoration for the one true God and of loyalty to his prophet, produce an overwhelming effect even upon the spectator, and the psychological effect of thus fusing the minds of the worshippers in a common adoration and expression of loyalty is certainly stupendous. Mohammed was the first one to see the tremendous power of public prayer as a unification culture, and there can be little doubt that the power of Islam is due in large measure to the obedience of the faithful to this inviolable rule of the five prayers. The giving of alms to the poor was also a means of developing the sense of brotherhood. So, likewise, was the pilgrimage to Mecca. It probably began as a concession to the Koreish, who made great profits from the pilgrims who came to the shrine of the Black Stone, and who feared that the new religion would cut off the source of their wealth. The pilgrimage proved in the end a great aid in unification, for the men of every tribe and race met at Mecca with a common purpose, and in a common worship, and a feeling of brotherhood could not but be engendered in the process. One reason for the aggressive character of Islam is perhaps that in his unification culture Mohammed avoided the old method of enforcing unity by the repressive emotions of awe and fear and shame, and relied chiefly on the unifying effect of emotions with a forward drive, such as devotion and enthusiasm. It is doubtful if prayer and the pilgrimage would have sufficed in themselves to create the required brotherhood. Circumstances threw Mohammed at once upon the defensive, and though he began by preaching peace and love, he soon was driven to proclaiming the Jihad or holy war against all unbelievers. Conquered tribes or towns were compelled either to adopt Islam or to sacrifice a large proportion of their possessions, and after the first few defeats the amount of plunder was enormous.

It is stated elsewhere that one way of creating a sense

of unity in primitive tribes is by means of the warlike emotions. Enthusiasm for battle and desire of plunder will hold men together when no other emotion avails. The marauding Arab tribes were used to combining for battle, and were roused by the appeals of Mohammed to a wild enthusiasm, which with the aid of the prayer culture fused them to impregnable solidarity in loyalty to their leader. The solidarity of the group gave it great power, and its efficiency in warfare was increased tenfold by the teaching of an absolute fatalism, which made it futile for a man to seek to avoid death, and by the assurance that at the moment of death in battle he entered paradise, there to dwell among its groves and fountains, feasting from dishes of gold and waited upon by seventy-two houris or black-eyed maidens of resplendent beauty, who were created especially for his personal delectation.

Never perhaps in the world's history has there been anything like the process of world unification that went on under the rule of the Caliph Omar, to whom, more perhaps than to Mohammed himself, is due the amazing success of Islam. Omar was a man of gigantic stature, absolutely without fear and of immovable honesty and loyalty to the truth. Several times when Mohammed had made some compromise with the evils of idolatry, Omar told him fearlessly that it was a false spirit that was speaking in him and recalled him to his true self and to his ideals. In the twenty years of Omar's rule, the armies of Islam under the resistless leadership of Khalid, the Sword of God, and the Great Amr, defeated and entirely crushed the armies of Heraclius, the Roman Emperor, and conquered the whole of Syria with its great and cultured cities of Antioch, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cæsarea. They fell upon the Persian Empire, and in three battles drove the king from his throne and captured the great cities of Babylonia with all the incredible wealth of Ctesiphon, the Persian capital. They spread swiftly across province after province, carrying the banner of Islam to the gates of India and China. Turning westward, Amr with a mere handful of men fell upon Egypt

and conquered it, and Islam went on its triumphant way to overwhelm, one after another, the ancient and cultured cities of North Africa. Their rule was, "Those who accept Islam, of whatever race or tribe or religion they may have been, are received into its fellowship and share all its privileges. Those who reject Islam shall pay tribute for the protection it affords them." The latter clause sometimes meant the loss of all their goods and sometimes a very just and moderate tax.

We have described the conditions that made the peoples of Persia and Syria ready to receive the teaching of Mohammed and to enter the new universal brotherhood. In Persia nearly all the Semitic tribes, and the mass of the common people, accepted Islam with joy. The same was true of the peasant population of Syria, where Christianity had never entered deeply. Egypt was in bitter hostility to Constantinople because of the persecution of the Coptic or Monophysite Church, which was carried on by the Melchites or orthodox party, and the mass of the people welcomed Amr as a deliverer, and vast numbers accepted Islam.

Thus before he died, Omar saw the whole civilized world of his time, save the little section remaining to the Eastern Roman Empire, and the few portions of the West that were not overrun by savage northern tribes, gathered into the universal brotherhood of Islam and repeating five times each day in multitudinous assemblies, from Egypt to India and from Antioch to the region of Samarcand, their great confession of faith and loyalty, "There is no God but God and Mohammed is his prophet."

Omar, ruler of the world, remained the same simple, stern, honest soul. We see him riding on his red camel, with his basket of dates and his skin of water, to receive the capitulation of Jerusalem from the Patriarch. We see him seated reverently on the ground in the sacred city on the spot where stands the mosque which bears his name and which remains the fairest jewel of the ancient city. With uncompromising severity, Omar punished all injustice and self-indulgence and selfish ambition, and kept the great world brotherhood

true to its simple fellowship. If such men could have continued in control, the world's history would have been far different.

7. THE GREAT DEFECT

There was one great defect in the system, to which most of its disasters were due. During the life-time of Mohammed, there was absolute unity of leadership, since through him spoke the voice of God. Moreover, the rule of the group was fixed in the Koran and immutable for all time. But there was no provision for leadership after the death of the prophet. All the turbulent clans had been obedient to Mohammed because they believed that the voice of God spoke through him. Apparently no one had thought what would happen in case of his death. Whether he thought that God would raise up another prophet in his place or that he himself would live on indefinitely, we do not know.

As soon as the prophet lay dead in the arms of Aisha, who had been his favorite wife since he married her at the age of nine, the difficulty began. None of his followers had the presumption to assert that the spirit of God dwelt in them as it had in Mohammed. Instantly division broke out between the Ansar, or men of Medina, and the men of Mecca, which would have been fatal but for the wisdom and dignity and tact of Abu Bekr, the first male convert, and father of Aisha, who persuaded them that some one of the first companions of the Mohammed from Mecca must be chosen to represent him as leader. There was dispute until Omar seized the hand of Abu Bekr and did him homage, when the rest of the group joined in acclaiming him. He was presented to the assembly, where he was only accepted after much opposition. Among the men of Mecca, there was keen rivalry between the two leading families of the Koreish, the Hashimites,—the family of Mohammed,—and the Omeiyades, who had been his bitterest enemies, and both now sought to gain control. The Hashimites claimed that the prophet had appointed his son-in-law Ali as his successor. Abbas, his uncle, supported Ali, and for a time warfare

seemed imminent. Ali finally preserved unity by acquiescing in the choice of Abu Bekr. The latter called himself "The Caliph," which meant merely "the representative." The selection of Abu Bekr was a wise one. The turbulent Arab tribes that had been held together by the mana of the prophet at once flew apart in revolt at the news of his death, but the quiet firmness and wisdom of Abu Bekr brought them all back to allegiance, within the three years of his brief rule. At his death he nominated Omar as his successor, and the latter humbly called himself "The Caliph of the Caliph of God's Apostle." This title proved so cumbrous that he changed it to "The Commander of the Faithful," thus claiming leadership without any pretense to the mana of Mohammed.

We have already noted the unexampled growth of Islam during his rule. In those brief twenty years, the Moslems conquered 36,000 cities, towns and castles, destroyed 4,000 Christian, Magian and Pagan temples, and erected 1,400 mosques. The vast power and wealth resulting from these conquests were administered with absolute honesty and impartiality by the Caliph, who retained his prestige as Commander by the sheer greatness of his character, and by the absolute justice with which he regulated the universal brotherhood.

When Jabala, King of one of the tribes, became a convert, it happened that at one of the ceremonies the garment of a beggar flapped in the King's face, whereupon the King struck the beggar and ordered him away. The beggar complained and Omar called the King before him to suffer judgment. "I am a king and he is a common man," said Jabala in explanation of his act. "King or no king," said Omar, "both of you are Mussulmans, and both are equal in the eyes of the law." Such a brotherhood, where the King and the beggar were equals, was never known in the world before, and Omar was recognized throughout the world as Commander of the Faithful because he enforced its laws with absolute impartiality.

Omar chose six men, who were to select a Caliph within

three days of his death or pay the penalty with their lives. They chose Othman, the aged friend of Mohammed. The office, however, was no longer supported by mana, and Othman showed such unjust favoritism and proved so incapable and weak that he was stoned out of the assembly and finally murdered. The surviving friends and relatives of Mohammed then chose Ali as Caliph. His claims were resisted by Moawiyah, Governor of Syria and Aisha, the widow of Mohammed. Moawiyah was an Omeyyade, and the conflict was really due to the old feud of the Hashimites and the Omeyyades. Ali was finally murdered and his two sons were slain, but the sect of the Shiites still regards them as the only legitimate Caliphs.

The prestige of leadership had been due at first to the Divine mana of Mohammed, and then to the lofty character and impartial administration of Abu Bekr, Omar, and Ali. With Ali ended the sway of the spiritual Caliphate that ruled the world by its nobility of character. The Omeyyade Caliphs reigned in Damascus like any king of the ancient world. The succession became hereditary and being once established by force, they used the old culture of reverence and magnificence to maintain their position. They were at length overthrown by certain descendants of Abbas, Mohammed's uncle, who restored the family of the prophet to its position of supremacy and reigned at Kufa and Bagdad.

In Egypt sprang up a dynasty of the Fatimites, purporting to be descended from Mohammed's daughter Fatima, and thus to hold the legitimate succession. The world unity, which had been so cleverly planned, and so miraculously achieved, was thus broken up by the same disastrous oversight that wrecked the early Roman Empire. No means had been devised to pass on the mana of Mohammed to his successors, and therefore the world was torn apart by the strife of contending factions.

8. THE MOHAMMEDAN CIVILIZATION

In spite of its defect in failing to establish a definite succession of leaders who possessed the mana and who could therefore command unquestioned obedience, Mohammedanism performed the incredible feat of gathering up the broken fragments of a disintegrating world, and of combining them into a civilization that endured for a thousand years. It did this by means of a new type of unification which the genius of Mohammed had created, and which was exactly adapted to the needs of the age. The Semitic tribes, who had resented the alien control of the Aryan Empires, and had never really accepted the religions of Christ and Zoroaster that had been forced upon them, turned to the new religion of their comrades from the Arabian desert with enthusiasm. Pagan tribes that were becoming ashamed of their degraded cults accepted gladly the new faith which received them as equals, whose simplicity offered no difficulties and whose programme of conquest appealed to their warlike nature. The Christian sects, the Armenians in Asia Minor, the Maronites in Syria, the Copts in Egypt, and the Nestorians in the East who had been bitterly persecuted by the orthodox church under the Roman Empire, were glad to receive an overlord, who, although he exacted heavy taxes, yet granted them toleration.

As already stated, the Mohammedan culture of a universal brotherhood, united by the confession of loyalty to one God and to his prophet in a holy war to conquer the world, produced the most amazing solidarity and was better adapted to fuse together the barbarous tribes of Asia and Africa than the more peaceful teachings of Christianity, which indeed had hardly been taken seriously by the Roman Emperors. Such a programme of conquest seemed likely in the end to reduce the world to unity and would probably have done so, but for that semi-civilized group of Franks under Charles Martel, who stopped the victorious progress of the Mohammedans at Tours, and prevented France, Germany, and England from being included under the banner of

Islam. No such force resisted them in the East, however, and they spread swiftly through Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia into India and even brought the great Mongolian conquerors under their banner. Constantinople, the capital of the ancient world, fell before them, Greece yielded to a new culture, and their victorious armies subdued the Balkans and Hungary and camped under the walls of Vienna, the capital of the reconstituted Holy Roman Empire. A new civilization, art, and literature sprang from this great world unity, whose culture and science soon left the barbarous warring princelings of Europe far behind. The black Nubian and the yellow Mongol, the fair-skinned peoples of Syria and Persia joined with the swarthy tribes of the desert in bowing daily toward Mecca in recognition of the fact that there was one God and Father of them all and one prophet who interpreted his will. Had that vast unity held together, it must have produced a civilization far surpassing that of Rome. Its failure was not due to the idea on which it was based, which was probably as efficacious as any the human mind could devise, but to the defect in the succession which allowed ambitious leaders to split the great empire of the caliphs into provinces, whose wars wrecked the civilization so marvellously begun.

The differences between the two great sects of the Shiites and the Sunnites concern rather their allegiance to certain of the caliphs than their assertion of varying doctrines. This tendency among men to divergent allegiances is, of course, the great dividing force in the world, and every tribe tends to break up in this way, unless it is held together by the power of religion. Even the most potent religious idea cannot hold men together against every emergency.

A dispassionate observer would, therefore, incline to the belief that of all the patriarchal ideas by which world unification has been attempted the Mohammedan has been the most effective. The fundamental idea was simpler, and it included the recognition of an absolute authority to whom belonged the monopoly of truth. Moreover, it was more adapted to the desires and passions of mankind. If religion

is to raise the ideals of men, it must set its standards above them. If, however, it is to hold them in unity, its requirements must not be too far from the desires of the average man. It may be that the ultimate results would be the same since there is good authority for the belief that the root of the highest ethics is to love one's neighbor as oneself, which means, of course, to expand the feeling that a man has for his own family until it includes every man. If Mohammedanism could have produced this feeling of unity among men, it might thus have raised their conduct to the highest ethical standards, even though the ideals with which it started were vastly inferior.

9. A COMPARISON OF CULTURES FOR WORLD UNIFICATION

We have watched the process by which was built up the feeling of tribal unity from that of the family, and the devices by which that feeling was expanded to include the nation, and have seen the development of certain cultures that attempted to create a sense of world unity. Accompanying this expansion of the sense of unity was the gradual enlargement of the feeling of reverence for the tribal leader, and for the laws and customs of the group until it involved the worship of the one God, ruler of all men, and of reverence for the universal moral law.

It is now possible to compare the various cultures, and the method by which they sought to produce unification on a large scale. The first point to consider is the basis for membership in each group. The primitive basis was of course blood relationship, and this remained fundamental in Hinduism, Confucianism, Shintoism, and the religion of the Jews. All of these added a certain standard or code, the failure to observe which involved loss of membership. These religious codes were usually ceremonial in character, but with the Jews the moral standard was of vital importance. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism admitted men of all races. All four were based on

loyalty to a certain teacher, and to a standard which he upheld. The emphasis was slightly different. Zoroastrianism required the worship of one god and the maintenance of a standard of purity. Buddhism emphasized conduct. In Christianity, the main requirement came to be assent to a creed, and the same was true of Mohammedanism. The latter were all unities constituted by a pledge or agreement, though this was more important in Mohammedanism and Christianity than in the other religions. Zoroastrianism aimed at a universal kingdom. The other three were universal brotherhoods at first, although Christianity was transformed into a throne culture of the usual patriarchal type.

The second point of importance concerns the method by which the group was directed, and by which its leaders gained their authority. All save Buddhism and Mohammedanism controlled men by the old throne culture. Religion was a part of the state, and whether the people worshipped one god or many, that worship was applied to render them obedient to the king. In Hinduism, the culture made men obedient to the class of the Brahmans rather than to any one man, which is perhaps a reason why India has been so divided in government. Buddhism and Christianity were originally unities by agreement controlled by democratic methods. Mohammedanism made use of prophetism, and though it was a universal brotherhood, the control was absolutely patriarchal and exercised by the inspired prophet or his representative.

A third point of interest is the means by which the laws of the group were enforced. Most religions made use of the old miasma culture modified in various ways. Hinduism, Taoism, and Shintoism retained the more primitive culture of the contagion of evil. The Jews and Zoroastrians conceived of the miasma in terms of the wrath of God, which inflicted its punishment in this world, and in the world to come, and Christianity and Mohammedanism followed out and enlarged upon the idea of future punishment. In Buddhism the miasma idea was replaced by that of a universal

law which brought its own retribution. In Zoroastrianism the miasma culture was applied against all anti-social creatures. In Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, it was applied against all who did not assent to their creed, which made them exclusive groups of the type which we have termed the thought monopoly, since they turned over to the powers of evil all who did not think as they did. They differed herein from all the other religions, which, like the Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian, are able to live amicably side by side, or which, like the Greek and Roman, could be fused to form a common worship. Mohammedanism and Christianity were the chief rivals for ten centuries in the Western world, and it is well to compare the methods of the two systems. Mohammedanism was a fratriarchal group with patriarchal control, while Christianity became for a time a patriarchal group with fratriarchal control.

Christianity proved fatal to the Roman Empire because there still remained in it fratriarchal ideas which were incompatible with autocratic government. The conception of a fratriarchal god, who spoke through individuals, combined with the patriarchal idea that such utterance was authoritative and final, was the most disastrous. Mohammedanism avoided these mistakes. This new faith was democratic and universal so far as its membership was concerned since it admitted any man of any race or rank, who would assent to its formula, but it was absolutely patriarchal in its view of God and of truth, and admitted no conflict of opinion among its adherents.

In the simplicity of its doctrine, Mohammedanism avoided another difficulty which Christianity of the sixth century had to face. The theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries had elaborated so complex a system of dogma that it was beyond the comprehension of the average man. Men were familiar with the idea of one god or a triad of gods, but when Christianity presented one God, who yet was three, and three very distinct persons who yet were one God, it was difficult to explain what was meant and theologians finally had to put an end to discussion, and tell the

inquirer that such were the facts and he must believe them as stated or be lost, as the Athanasian creed states. In addition, those who maintained the doctrine of the Trinity found it difficult to convince outsiders that they were not polytheists. Again, those who asserted that their God was a man, and that a crucified man was their God, laid themselves open to the accusation that they were idolaters and blasphemers. It is necessary to note these difficulties in Christianity as a unifying agent, to appreciate the success of its rival.

In contrast with this, the essential doctrine of Islam is, "There is no God but God and Mohammed is his prophet," which is something that even the stupidest savage of Africa can understand and repeat with the conviction that he really knows what he is talking about. This is not only simple, but definite, and excludes all possibility of a rival authority so far as religious truth is concerned. When the believer assented to the phrase, "Mohammed is his prophet," he recognized that Mohammed's interpretation of the truth was the only one, and that all others were false. They had, therefore, the great unifying idea of one God and Father, without the possibilities of disunion which existed in the Christian Church through the complexity of its doctrine, and they had no belief in a Divine Spirit, which was giving new revelations and interpretations through various individuals, and thus dividing the church.

The third point at which Islam differs fundamentally from Christianity is that it is a warlike religion, and we have already noted the advantage which this gave it over its rival. In all the above points, it would seem that Islam was better adapted to unify the world of the seventh century, while Christianity in its essence possessed certain features which were to prove of increasing value and which would fit it to become a culture whereby it might be possible to unify a democratic world.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

IN discussing the disastrous results of a lack of harmony between the forms of a group and its emotional culture, it has been shown how the Roman Empire had attempted to maintain a political unity within which diverse emotional cultures were at work, and had failed. It remains to consider an attempt which was in its nature exactly opposite to this. It was an effort to provide a universal emotional culture in which a variety of political units were included. In one case we find a single government including various religions, in the other a single religion including various governments. The latter was the more successful and the church succeeded in bringing the warring nations and races of the West into a certain cultural unity which, though by no means as complete as the unity established by the Antonines, nevertheless served to make a new civilization possible. By a sad mischance the church did not become thoroughly adapted as an emotional culture for patriarchal governments until too late to save the Empire. It was reorganized on patriarchal lines just in time to enable it to supply the emotional culture needed to stabilize the new groups which were being formed by the savage conquerors of the North. These Nordic kings, elected by groups that were almost democratic in character, would hardly have been able to establish their authority without the emotional sanction of the church. This period also marks the rise of groups of a new type, which were not based on the sense of blood relationship. All these groups drew on the universal culture of the church, for the emotional power which gave them permanence and efficiency.

I. THE DISORGANIZATION OF CIVILIZATION

From the time when Constantine made Christianity the mistress of the Western civilization, for six centuries history can only chronicle one disaster after another in which the great world organism that had once held all nations together in peace and prosperity was shattered into smaller and smaller fragments. It must have seemed to the Olympians that the human race would end as it began, in little groups of savage warriors, each chieftain ruling his own vassals with merciless ferocity, and seeking by assault, treachery, and murder to subdue his neighbor. The unity of communication, of law, and of custom was gradually broken until the civilization of Europe resembled that of the early American Indians. The primary cause of disintegration was that the long impregnable wall of iron warriors that for so many centuries had protected civilization from the savage tribes outside its gates, broke down under the fierce attacks of migrant nations, who burst in upon the rich lands of the Empire, plundering, burning, destroying, and murdering, until hardly one stone of the old Roman structure was left upon another. Wave after wave of different races and tribes swept over the submerged lands until in place of the coherent social organization of the past, there was an impossible *mélange* of Celt and Frank and Roman and Goth and Vandal and Hun, with all their varying customs and traditions. The cause for the breaking of the wall was twofold: the failure to preserve unity within, and the disappearance of the firm, courageous, responsible type of character created under the Roman system of taboos. Character is formed by enforcing a system of taboos which causes men to feel a sense of horror for acts harmful to the community. This, as already shown, is one function of religion. As stated above, Constantine saw the necessity of a new religion for the Empire and chose Christianity in the hope that it would unify all factions and build up a strong type of character. Christianity failed as a unifying force because it had no fixed central authority, and each bishop

could claim a monopoly of truth and salvation in virtue of direct inspiration, or because authority had been transmitted to him by the laying on of hands. A second cause of weakness was that Christianity did not create the warlike type of character needed to defend the Empire. On the contrary, it transformed some 80,000 potential warriors into monks and sent them to the deserts of Egypt to starve and do penance. It did develop some noble missionaries who went among the savage tribes and sought to unify them by the spirit of love. If there had been more time, the world might have been unified in this fashion. But the Empire needed enough stout warriors to hold the walls and protect civilization until these missionaries had opportunity to transform the barbaric tribes. In these respects Christianity failed. The furious conflicts between the various thought monopolies destroyed all sense of unity in the Empire.

When this difficulty was adjusted by a return to the absolute patriarchal system and by centralizing inspiration and authority in the pope, there remained the difficulty of a dual authority, that of pope and emperor, with two conflicting systems of emotional culture. Only a few statesmen of the middle ages, such as Charlemagne, had sufficient genius and tact to harmonize these two cultures so that they produced as perfect a unity as that achieved by the Roman or Egyptian state, where government and religion were really one culture. It is important to follow more in detail the struggle for unity.

2. THE LAST FORTRESS OF CIVILIZATION

As a result of these divisions of the church, there was left to the Eastern Empire only the small section which adhered to the Orthodox Church. The emperor was able to control this part of the church and to prevent future divisions by promptly exiling bishops who showed a tendency to develop variant thought monopolies.

The religion of the Eastern Empire held the people in unity while the West disintegrated, but, weakened in char-

acter, its walls were forced in step by step, until all that was left of the great civilization of Greece and Rome, with its matchless heritage of literature and art and law, was that which was contained within the battlemented walls which the great Theodosius had reared about the city of Constantinople. Year after year, wave after wave of barbarian onslaught beat upon them,—Celt and Norman, Bulgarian and Avar, Goth and Turk,—and still they stood invincible, guarding the treasured words of Æschylus and Plato, the laws of Justinian, the secrets of the art that reared the dome of St. Sophia and wrought the marvels of painting and sculpture that had made the world beautiful,—all that man had discovered and preserved through long centuries of development. All the treasure of the world was there, safe within that fortress-wall of stone, while without, raging floods enveloped the earth. No material thing that is still upon the earth better deserves the reverence of a civilized man than those old gray walls that preserved the civilization of the world until the West was ready to receive it, and its seed could be borne by the ships of Amalfi and Venice, to be replanted in Italy and start the renaissance of humanity.

In the West, Rome fell, sacked by Goth and Vandal and Lombard, and of her glory remained only shattered fragments. The first barbarians, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, impressed by the greatness of the Roman idea, sought to reconstruct and perpetuate the Empire and the Visigoths carried something of its tradition with them to southern Gaul and Spain. But all efforts toward unity were wiped out by new waves of barbaric invasion as Burgundian and Lombard, Frank and German and Hungarian, swept over the defenseless ramparts and engulfed the wretched inhabitants in misery and destruction. Then in the hour of utter disintegration the chief hope of the Western world lay in the church. One unifying force still remained, and though its mistakes had brought about the Empire's fall, it still had power to restore.

3. THE GROWTH OF UNIFIED AUTHORITY

When Constantine selected Christianity as the religion of the Empire one reason undoubtedly was that the church was then the most effective unity in the world. It had its organization, its laws and courts and standards—maintained by an emotional culture of intense power. It united men all over the world and formed a state within a state.

Its two great defects as a means to meet the crisis that Constantine faced were that it had no single seat of authority and that it was in danger of returning to a non-ethical system of taboo, which banned certain arbitrary objects and thoughts rather than those acts which were harmful to society. It tended, therefore, to produce monks rather than good citizens.

The most practical means to reconstitute the unity of the world was probably the creation of a supreme religious authority, and since Constantine did not appoint a pope, it was necessary to wait until he was created by the necessities of the time. It was soon seen that such an official was essential and the claim to supremacy was put forward tentatively by the Bishop of Rome, only to be denied. Such a claim could only be maintained by powerful support from the Empire, and this it was not always possible to secure. The relation between the church and the Empire was a strange one. It is probable that so defenseless a group as that of the Christians could never have grown and prospered, save under the protection of the strong government of the Roman Empire. Rome persecuted the Christians, but it was the Roman State that prevented their annihilation and made it possible for them to spread throughout the world. The church broke up the Empire by its divisions, and then proceeded to reunite the world with the help of the Empire. An authoritative supremacy cannot be maintained in a barbarous world without the support of the state. But here arose the question of dual authority and the endless conflict of the Middle Ages between church and state began. The

power of the pope progressed gradually, but with a backward swing of the pendulum for each step forward.

Gregory the Great set in motion a force that was to bear a great part in subjugating the West to Rome. He sent out missionaries whose influence spread through all the barbaric tribes of England and Germany and who taught these fierce tribes to respect the pope as the representative of God on earth. Thus he laid a foundation for the Holy Roman Empire. At the time of his death a famine occurred. The people still held the old pagan idea that it was the fault of the priest if they were attacked by evil. Gregory was regarded as an impostor without real mana, and the people were only prevented from wreaking vengeance on his tomb by the loyal Archdeacon Peter, who, to prove the authority of his master, stated that he had seen the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove hovering above the Pope. When Peter was required to confirm this statement by an oath in the presence of the people, he fell dead in the pulpit. Contrary to the expectation of the modern man, this was considered a miracle which demonstrated so conclusively the truth of his assertion, that Gregory has ever since been represented with a dove at his side. This indicates how large a place the old system of mana and miasma still had, even under the great men of the church. The pope emphasized the importance of the moral law, but in Gregory's *Dialogues* we read of a woman into whom a devil gained entrance because she ate lettuce without making the sign of the cross. The old system of miasma was used to enforce moral law by creating a special demon for each vice and crime, who entered the body of a transgressor as he committed the act and thus doomed him to eternal torment. This powerful emotional culture was perhaps the only thing that could have kept men moral in an age of ignorance and brutality.

Gregory II carried forward the claim to supremacy and states in a letter to Constantinople that "all the lands of the West have their eyes directed to our humility as to God on earth." But in a few years Martin I, for taking this attitude in condemning the monothelite creed of the Emperor Hera-

clius, was arrested and sent into banishment in chains, with an iron collar about his neck. The Emperor, doubtless, considered this a small punishment for the man who wrecked his long meditated and reasonable plan for unifying the Empire.

When Leo the Isaurian attempted to banish image worship and the materialistic mana and taboo systems from the church, Gregory III excommunicated him. This helped toward the final overthrow in the East of a Christianity based on reason rather than on ceremonial, and also divided permanently the Roman and Greek Churches. It may be that Gregory was right, and that the barbarous people of that age could be controlled in no other way than by the old system of mana and miasma.

4. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The latter part of the eighth century saw the beginning of an alliance that was to recreate the semblance of world unity. The pope, Stephen, applied to Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, for protection against the Lombards, and he and his successor, Charlemagne, in several campaigns established the Pope upon his throne and turned over to him all Italy south of the Po. As a means to authorize the temporal power of the pope over this area as well as his spiritual supremacy, the document known as the Donation of Constantine was then brought forward. In return for Charlemagne's assistance, the Pope crowned him as Emperor and aided him to control the barbaric tribes in his domain through the missionaries and bishops of the church. The protection of Charlemagne formed a background for the influence of the great Pope Nicholas I, who dared to reprove the greatest princes and call them to the bar of justice. In the brave stand of Nicholas against the iniquities of Lothair was the beginning of that great power for good and unity exercised by those popes of later years, who kept the unruly bandit barons and tyrannous princes of the Middle Ages to a semblance of justice and humanity in their

dealings with their people, and who reduced the whole of Christendom to a certain unity under the laws and customs of the church. The power of Nicholas was sustained by the discovery of the "False Decretals," which purported to give him full supremacy by the tradition and sanction of the church. Whether true or false, their pragmatic value was great in reducing the world to order.

Terrible things were first to come, however, for as soon as the power of Charlemagne crumbled and the protection of the Empire was withdrawn, the papacy became a mere temporal dominion, for the control of which the brutish barons of Rome struggled with unexampled ferocity. The conception of the papacy sank so low that it was actually believed by the church that a corrupt woman named Joan occupied the throne of St. Peter for some years, and a statue of her under the title of "John VIII, a woman from England" was only removed from the Cathedral of Siena in the seventeenth century. In the tenth century the papacy descended to the lowest depths. With no protector and assailed by Saracen and robber baron, popes were insulted, chained and murdered, while their murderers assumed the tiara. The fingers were cut from the body of Formosus and his corpse was flung into the Tiber with insults. Stephen IV was strangled. Two corrupt women, Theodora and Marozia, disposed of the papacy to their favorites for many years during an incredible orgy of bloodshed and vice. Alberic, the supposed son of Marozia by Sergius, controlled the city and made and unmade four popes. His son, Octavian, ruled under his own name as governor of the city and under the name of John XII, as pope. When the scandal of his rule became intolerable, the Emperor Otto the Great captured the city and brought Octavian to trial for every crime known on the catalogue.

The work of Charlemagne was taken up once more by the Emperor Otto, and the alliance between state and church was reconstituted. A series of worthy popes, appointed and maintained by the emperors whom they crowned, purged the church of its corruption and re-estab-

lished a certain unity in the world. The old empire of Charlemagne returned to power in the hands of the Saxon conquerors, and all the kingdoms of Western Europe, save France and England, came gradually to recognize its supremacy. One difficulty remained,—to define the relations of the dual headship. If the pope had been content with the spiritual headship of the world, all might have been well. The moral supremacy of Gregory VII kept the Emperor Henry IV on his knees in the snow at Canossa until the haughty prelate relented, and the power of the pope to bless or curse was recognized throughout Christendom. The conception from which authority was derived was still the old familiar mana and miasma. But now at last it was recognized that the power through which these dire forces were controlled was the will of one man. A word from him could turn over a whole kingdom to the powers of evil, and close all churches so that the people were deprived of any possibility of salvation from the deadly force that must surely bring them to eternal torment. A word of absolution from the pope could put any man, no matter how dire his crimes, in touch with mana and open to him the gates of heaven. Before a power so stupendous, concentrated in the hands of one man, the modern mind stands aghast. A man so clothed with authority seems, like Fate, to hold the world's future in his hand. Had this power been used always for the good of humanity, to check the cruelty and tyranny of rulers, to free the oppressed and to cause wars to cease, a world beautiful beyond belief might thus have been created, and out of the unity of the Western nations there might have arisen the civilization of which poet and prophet have dreamed. Certain of the popes did so use it, and their rule was a blessing to mankind.

Unfortunately for the world, however, one great source of division and disaster remained,—the question of the temporal power and the determination of the popes to assert their power in this realm against the Empire. The appointment of the bishops had rested with the people of the diocese and with the king, and possibly one should not criti-

cise the use of the power of excommunication by the pope, as Gregory used it against Henry to enforce the right of the pope to control these appointments. But when the pope himself entered the arena to fight for material possessions against other princes, he descended to their level, and the powers he claimed were defied and mocked. The empire that should have been his ally, became his greatest enemy in the struggle for land and wealth, and once more the West was torn asunder by warring factions. Again we see popes driven from Rome, flouted, struck in the face by a Colonna and sinking to the plane of the ambitious and covetous princes of their day.

5. THE SHELTER FOR THE GERMS OF CIVILIZATION

And yet with it all the church remained the one unifying power that formed the groundwork of the new civilization. Even in its darkest days it maintained a certain standard in which all men agreed. It was a final court of appeal between warring princes. While it confirmed the status quo of the feudal system, which was bad enough at best, it did prevent abuse of power and injustice in all matters in which the pope himself was not concerned. And justice must allow that the popes were firmly convinced of their temporal rights and felt that in using the world's methods to gain them they did no wrong. The mass of the people knew little of the evils of the system and revered the pope as the true representative of God and righteousness. And if they so thought, for them at least it was true, and his authority kept them loyal to the noble standards of Christianity.

Although the taboo system of the materialistic type, and acts of penance and the repetition of sacred formulæ were required to cleanse from the power of evil, and although it was believed that the mana was transmitted through water and bones and amulets, yet the system in the main was directed against acts truly harmful to mankind, rather than against the touching of forbidden things, as in the old pagan systems. The taboo on thought remained, and it was felt that to hold any thought or belief contrary to that author-

ized by the pope subjected a man more completely to the forces of evil than if he had committed a crime. The contagion of such a thought was so great that it could infect not only the man himself but all associated with him, and could poison the whole community in which he dwelt. Men, therefore, felt honestly (as the pagans when their taboo was broken) that the only way to save the community from destruction was to expel the belief by torture or burning. With such a system any other attitude was impossible. The whole unity of the world and its moral authority hinged on the infallibility of the pope. This was seen more and more plainly as an essential, though the definite claim was not made until the unity it was intended to preserve had broken into many fragments. With all the defects of the Roman Church, civilization owes as great a debt to it as to the old gray walls of Constantinople, for in its turn it built up the ramparts that shielded the sacred heritage of mankind and held together the people of God until a new civilization could form within its consecrated courts.

6. A TEMPORARY AND VOLUNTARY AUTOCRACY

Before going on to consider the influence of the church in forming the nations of Europe, we must stop to consider the new type of group with which the church had to deal, which was not based, as were all the primitive national groups, on blood relationship, but on a new principle of unity which demanded a different emotional culture. This new type of group, though fratriarchal in character, supplied the basis for a new type of kingship and for a system of social organization which was quite different from anything in the Roman Empire. In it were the germs of the modern nation and from its reactions with the church have sprung the various states of Europe. Its basis of membership, like that of the early church, was a mutual agreement, but unlike the church, the emotions which unified it were those associated with battle and conflict and its main purpose was not peace but war.

The success of the nations of the ancient world depended largely upon their ability to construct a powerful war machine. This was of value to them both as a means of defense and as an instrument wherewith to plunder other nations. It was here that the nations under patriarchal control excelled. It is much easier to construct an invincible war machine where many thousands are under the absolute rule of one man who has power of life and death over them. But although the mechanism is thus more perfectly coordinated and more easily directed, it has no power in itself, since it is driven largely by the will of one man and operated under the stress of the repressive emotions of fear and reverence which the soldiers feel for their leader, rather than by the forward drive of a great enthusiasm. Certain fratriarchal states, such as Sparta, having secured the drive of a united purpose, sought to develop a perfect war machine; but by making it a permanent institution, they created a civilization which crushed out all those budding constructive impulses of the human mind that are so important in the progress of the world. It remained for the Nordic tribes to invent a war machine which fulfilled the necessary requirements and avoided the usual disadvantages. In fact no more ingenious plan for unifying men for a definite purpose could have been devised. It was fratriarchal in the method of its organization but absolutely patriarchal in its operation. It was temporary and not permanent, and therefore allowed men to return to their ordinary relations and occupations when the special occasion for it had passed. It was purely voluntary and therefore included only those in whom the forward drive was strongest, and yet it was more completely autocratic than the most effective type of patriarchal army. It resembled the Roman dictatorship save that in the latter men were compelled to serve whether they wished to do so or not. This Nordic type of temporary unity crystallized into forms that had so vital an effect upon later history that it is most important to consider it with care.

The Nordic tribes developed the beginnings of the fratri-

archal system of unification in much the same way as did the Greeks and Romans. The facts and culture made use of by all these tribes in developing their sense of unity seem to have been of the patriarchal type, and they employed religion in the same manner as did the other nations of antiquity.

It was when they wished to unify the wills of a group in a common purpose that their special invention came into play. As the king had hardly enough authority to conduct a successful campaign and might see his men refuse to obey orders at any moment, some organization was essential which would hold their men together in impenetrable unity for the period of a special enterprise. The Roman historians speak of the device they originated as the "comitatus." When a chief proposed an expedition at the tribal assembly or "concilium," he could call for volunteers. No one was obliged to go, but those who chose to follow were bound by ceremonials which created an idea of almost incredible emotional force. Their chief became the absolute lord of his followers or thegns and they felt themselves bound irrevocably to stand by him no matter what the cost. To survive him was felt as a terrible disgrace. The Romans record an instance where such a chief, Chondomarius, was taken prisoner by them at Strassburg in 357 A. D. whereupon all his followers promptly came forward and surrendered themselves, expecting to die with him. The idea at the root of this temporary unity was derived from the old autocratic patriarchal family.

By their solemn ceremonials the Teutons succeeded in transferring the feeling of family solidarity to the "comitatus," or expedition, each member of which was regarded as the son of the chief, and therefore united with him and subject to his authority. In return, the chief had his definite obligations to his subordinates, as if they were in truth his sons. He was expected to divide with them all spoils, and to give to each of them a part of the land that was conquered, which, with all its inhabitants, the recipient might hold as a permanent and absolute possession so long as he

continued to recognize the authority of his "father"-in-arms.

This invention of the Teutons had in it the beginnings of the culture essential to democracy, the unity by agreement. Before it could reach its fulfilment, it was wrested aside and made the basis of a system of autocracy more tyrannous in many respects than any that had yet existed. It will be necessary to follow the development of the feudal system in order to trace the formation in it of those groups that were at last to form the basis of modern national unity.

7. THE NEW TYPE OF KINGSHIP

In the course of history the great idea of the kingship underwent many modifications. In the original form the idea behind it was that of a family united under its head, who was designated as the son or choice of the original ancestor or god. A different type of kingship grew out of fratriarchal government in which the king gained his power as representative of the people and so avoided all signs of the kingship, as did Cæsar, Cromwell and many of the Greek tyrants. A third form, connected with that just mentioned, was the military despotism that frequently resulted when the extent of some fratriarchal dominion became so great that the old government would not function, as in the case of Rome. We have followed the development of the Roman military kingship, until the Roman Emperor became lord of the world, and we have seen that unity collapse into a chaos of warring tribes. Out of that chaos sprang a new type of kingship which was to create a different system of national unification. It could not with such a mingled population be based on the old idea of the family head. It seems, therefore, to have been grounded on the idea of the artificial family, and it was here that the invention of the Teutons just described came into play.

A leader of this type can maintain his authority only by deeds of prowess. In failure or inaction, his men will desert him for another. When Clovis started his campaigns to sub-

jugate Gaul his authority was chiefly that of the *comitatus* although he was hereditary chief of one of the tribes of the Franks. In such expeditions all plunder and land captured were divided by lot and the chief bound himself to give their due share to the men, as they in turn were bound to be loyal to him. The authority of the leader was defined by agreement, and was by no means absolute. When Clovis wished to take a specially valuable vase for himself from the plunder at Soissons, one of his men cried: "You shall have nothing but what you obtain by lot," and broke the vase. Clovis had to wait several months until he caught the man in a delinquency before he could dispose of him by splitting his skull with an axe.

Clovis secured the help of several of the other Frankish tribes by this system of the *comitatus* and attacked the Roman province of Gaul, then ruled by Syagrius, a good governor who was both just and honorable. Clovis, who had no other excuse, however, than the desire for plunder and power, completely defeated Syagrius and took over Gaul as his domain. After this a continual succession of wars of plunder kept the warriors of Clovis content and enabled him to retain his chieftainship. The country which he conquered was inhabited partly by Celts or Gauls who had adopted Roman customs and Christianity, partly by Arian Visigoths who had conquered the south, and partly by various German and Gothic tribes. When an organized nation is conquered it is necessary only for the conqueror to take the place of the former head, and the unity is preserved. The office still exists although the king is gone, and the conqueror can always assume the office or the crown. But Gaul was thoroughly disorganized by repeated invasions, and each tribe and race had its own customs and laws. To reduce such chaos to unity was indeed a task. Aside from mere force, the only unity by which Clovis could control the country was that of this artificial family, created by ceremonial and oath, which we have termed the *comitatus*. This was only of value so long as the leader was successful. There was no real sense of unity behind it and no divine

sanction,—in other words, no real emotional power. Clovis saw that he needed a high priest and a religion to establish an emotional culture.

8. THE SANCTION OF RELIGION

In the great battle of Clovis against the Alemanni, he imitated Constantine and called on the God of the Christians to help. He was victorious and it was thus proved to all his people that the mana of Christ had been given to him. He was received as a convert by St. Remi, Bishop of Rheims, and he could then declare himself a ruler possessed of mana, which he indicated by the phrase, "King by the grace of God." The results were immediate. Armorica, the district between the Seine and the Loire, which had refused to recognize a pagan German, submitted at once to a Christian king. Roman Christians in the kingdoms of the Burgundians and Visigoths, who had been persecuted by their Arian rulers, took the side of Clovis against their sovereigns, and enabled him to subjugate both realms without difficulty. Christianity had vastly changed from the day of its founders; it is strange to discover how like it was to the pagan systems of mana and miasma. If a man performed certain ceremonies he was safe from evil and therefore good. If he abstained from beliefs on which the taboo had been placed, and destroyed men who were contaminated by such false ideas and thus preserved the community from evil, he was then righteous. Clovis was regarded as virtuous because he destroyed heretics and overthrew the Arian kingdoms. After these victories he turned his attention to the rival Frankish kings. Sigebert, King of the Rhine country, was his friend and ally. Clovis persuaded Clotaire, the son of Sigebert, to murder his father, and then eliminated Clotaire by assassination. He seized upon Chararic, another former ally, shaved his head and made him a monk. Then to ensure safety he put him to death. He bribed the soldiers of King Ragnachar of Flanders with gilded armor, which he assured them was solid gold, and when they betrayed their king into his hands, Clovis taunted him with his folly

in trusting his men and split his head with an axe. But because he kept to the ceremonies and enforced the taboos of the church, Gregory of Tours says of him: "God daily prostrated his enemies before him and increased his kingdom, because he walked before Him with an upright heart and did what was pleasing in His sight." In other words, Clovis was possessed of mana and kept the taboo.

The effect of the support of the church in unifying the kingdom was very great. At last there was a king in Gaul who was the recognized representative of God, and in all the ceremonies of the church, reverence for him and his law was cultivated. The bishops of France, with St. Remi, the Bishop of Rheims, at their head, all recognized and supported him. Thus there was re-established the old unifying culture of priest and king, the king to lead the people and enforce the law, the priest to cultivate in the people reverence for the king and a sense of unity with him. The king was recognized as the head of the church and it supported him.

When the Dynasty of Clovis came to an end, Charlemagne carried his conquests far beyond the borders of Gaul, where the Gallic bishops had no authority or influence. To unify these peoples a greater priest was necessary than any bishop of France. Then was made evident the need of the alliance with the Pope, described in a former section. The missionaries of Rome had taught everywhere the universal spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and when Charlemagne was crowned emperor by him and was anointed with the holy oil, all nations of the West recognized that he had acquired mana as lord of the world. Charlemagne himself had taken up the idea of the *Civitas Dei* of Augustine and considered that he was the head of the Kingdom of God on Earth. The church everywhere supported him. He introduced the oriental ceremonial. No man could approach him without prostration. He made his trusted representatives counts or *grafs* of every county and assigned dukes to each province and through these officers he administered justice throughout his great realm. The succession was made he-

reditary and there seemed to be no reason why this great Kingdom of God on Earth, headed by the Pope and Emperor, as priest of the world and lord of the world, should not unify all mankind and bring to realization the dreams of Augustine.

9. THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

Thus five centuries later Charlemagne reconstructed a government which bore the semblance of the great empire of Constantine, with the added advantage that it had a single authoritative religious head. But it had no roots in the character and customs of the people. They were united only in their allegiance to their great Emperor. And history was to show that no one but Charlemagne could hold together the vast empire that he constructed. The repeated raids of the Normans were the outward cause of its disintegration, but the inward cause was the lack of any real sense of unity in the people. These destructive invasions were to create out of the crumbling empire a new type of unity which was real as far as it went, and which endured throughout Europe for centuries. Under Charles the Bald so many men had been driven from their homes that brigandage and vagabondage became universal menaces. The Emperor tried to check these by placing every brigand under the ban, but the taboo no longer worked. Citizens had to defend themselves and each man of wealth built a stronghold to which his neighbors repaired for refuge. The poorer men either turned bandits or sought the protection of some lord. To check the vagabondage and banditry and universal disunion, Charles issued a decree that every man should become the vassal of a lord. Any man without such a master was regarded as a public enemy. This was an effort to build up by force an artificial patriarchal system of unity, in which every man must find a place, or be hunted down as a wild beast. Thus began the Feudal System—a federation of small groups assembled for defense. In a land where unity had broken to fragments, and where groups were disintegrated and every man's hand was against his neigh-

bor, this meant a reassembling of the inhabitants in a hierarchy of groups, so that each man had a place in society and a master who was responsible for him. The lord gave protection and perhaps a section of land to his vassals. In return the vassal swore allegiance to the lord, and paid him in rent or service. The lords, again, united for protection under the banner of some count, and the counts gave their allegiance to the Emperor. This new system, which owed its beginning to the "comitatus" of Clovis, and his plan of assigning conquered lands to his chieftains, was the only form of unity that could survive and reorganize the chaos that resulted from the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire. It survived because it was a unity whose purpose and essence were defense, and because in that age all men and groups who were not organized for mutual protection perished. Thus the "comitatus," a unity whose basis and purpose were attack, crystallized into the feudal system whose basis and purpose were defense.

10. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MONARCHY BY AID OF THE CHURCH

After the reign of Charles the Fat, the Carlovingian Empire split into some eight kingdoms. The four powerful kings or dukes of Germany elected their own emperor. Exasperated by the futile and cowardly rule of Charles the Simple, the nobles of France assembled in his presence and renounced their allegiance by breaking each a blade of straw. After the reign of Louis IV the Archbishop of Rheims declared the last Carlovingian, Charles of Lorraine, unfit to rule, and the nobles elected Hugh Capet, count of Paris and duke of France, to the throne.

All previous efforts to cut loose from the symbolism and succession of the Carlovingian Empire had failed. It was long doubtful whether Hugh Capet could build up sufficient prestige to hold the lords of France in unity and obedience. When he questioned the title of one of them and said: "Who made thee Lord?" the man haughtily replied: "Who

made thee King?" In other words, he was not recognized as the representative of God. It was the work of the church to build up reverence for the new king, and it did its work well. There had been progress in the ideas of the church. Although the clergy still held to the old taboo on ideas, they also put their ban on injustice and violence. They set a curse upon any lord who, in his forays, attacked the clergy or killed the peasants. They introduced the Truce of God, which provided that any lord who fought between Wednesday and Monday of each week should be accursed. A disease called the Sacred Fire was supposed to fall on those who broke the truce. Thus the church gave the stricken land a little breathing space. The violence of the nobles was checked by the old idea of a contagious evil or awaiting demon that seized upon any man at the moment he committed a cruel or unjust act. The only way to escape the resulting torment in this world and the world to come was through the redemption the church offered, and by means of the symbolic purification which the confessor commanded. Fulk the Black, of Anjou, had burnt one wife and tormented another, had ill-treated his son, stabbed his rivals, and had broken his vow. To escape the resulting curse, he had himself dragged naked through the streets of Jerusalem, while two valets lashed him with whips and cried, "God have mercy on the traitor and perjurer, Fulk of Anjou." It is easy to see that a religion which could create a taboo powerful enough to produce such an effect on an utterly unscrupulous man such as Fulk, must have been a strong check on the violence of the French lords, and a great protection to the helpless people. The power of the church rested on the idea of original sin, namely, that all men were infected by the miasma of evil, and could escape eternal torment only by submission to the church. When Abélard brought the light of reason to bear on this emotional culture, and said that if men were involuntarily infected by evil then they did not sin, and if they did not sin then they could not justly be punished, he was persecuted and driven from the church. That body was not yet in a position to base its demands on reason and justice, and could hold men

to virtue only by the powerful emotional culture it had developed.

The unity of the church depended on the old taboo on ideas. No conflicting system of thought could be tolerated or it would split apart the firm union of the church. For this reason the Pope called for a crusade against the Albigenses in southern France, who were holding beliefs contrary to those authorized by him. The young Vicomte Raymond of Béziers fought bravely to defend his town, but it was captured by the army of the church. Their task was then to expurgate the contagious evil from the land. "How shall we know the heretics?" asked the officers. "Kill them all," answered the papal legate, "the Lord will know his own." Twenty thousand men, women, and children were slaughtered. Raymond, having escaped, was offered a safe conduct if he would surrender. When he did so, the legate said: "Faith cannot be kept with those who have no faith," and he was promptly put out of the way. This was not punishment. It was a culture to reduce the world to unity. In those desperate days a man must either come into the organized world-union or be exterminated. No divisive influence or questioning of authority could be tolerated.

It was the stupendous power of this unifying culture of the church that was brought to bear in support of the Capetian kingship and the feudal system. The basis of the system went back to the time of Clovis and Charlemagne, and to the theory that all of France belonged to the king by right of conquest. Each count or duke must do homage to the king for the section of land he held, and kneel before him and swear fealty with his hands between the hands of the king. In return for the land, he promised to support the king with his men at arms. In like manner the barons and lords in the count's dominions swore fealty to him and their vassals and retainers in turn knelt to them and promised allegiance. It came, therefore, to be a system of land tenure. Land could be held only by doing homage. The link that held the system together was the oath of fealty, and this was maintained by the ban of the church against perjurers. We will speak later of the emotion that made this oath ef-

fective. The king was dependent for his revenue upon the lands which he possessed as local lord. The great danger at first was that the great lords should grow more powerful than the king, and become entirely independent of his jurisdiction. The efforts of Louis the Fat were concentrated on overthrowing the strongholds of defiant lords in his own dukedom of France. He gave charters of freedom to many of the cities to gain their support against these rebellious chieftains.

Under St. Louis, the "King's Justice" was recognized throughout the land and any man had the right to appeal to him against unjust treatment by the local lord. The Parliament of Paris was soon constituted, and under Philip le Bel, the Grand Council was instituted as a deliberative body to aid the king in shaping laws and forming purposes for the people.

Thus at last was formed the framework of the absolute monarchy. Its system was purely patriarchal save in the free cities. There was little sense of unity between the people. Each man was bound to his lord and the lord in turn to the count and the count to the king. This created a very strange state of affairs. The sense of unity in the people depended upon the relations of the lords. If one lord married an heiress, the people were united by the marriage of their superiors, and thenceforward fought as allies and acted as a unit. The whole unity of the West depended, therefore, on the alliances of the various counts and kings, and peoples of the most diverse types, with no real connection with one another, were thus brought into unity through the marriage of their lords. On the other hand, two peoples living in harmonious relations were often brought into warfare with one another for no other cause than a quarrel between their lords. Such a state of affairs seems so incredibly absurd and the relationship that held the people in unity appears so artificial that we can hardly believe that it should have operated and carried conviction in Europe for many centuries.

PART III
MODERN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

THE ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE. THE BALANCE OF TWO SYSTEMS

INTRODUCTORY

It is impossible to follow in detail the development of the various states that sprang up from the ruins of the Roman Empire. One of them is of especial importance, however, because in it were developed those forms of government which are now dominant in the world, and it will hardly be a loss of time to trace the first beginnings of democratic government among its people and to follow in outline the long struggle between democratic and autocratic rule, in the course of which those emotions and forms of government were developed which are essential to modern civilization. The isolation of the British Isles made them an excellent laboratory in which every sort of social experiment could be tried out, and the people of those isles seem to have been subjected to nearly every form of social organization, from the communal village of the Iberians and the "comitatus" of the Teutons, to the tyranny of the Plantagenets and the commonwealth of Cromwell. They have made trial of every known form of emotional culture, from that of the Mother Goddess and the ancestral god to the emperor-worship of Rome, the papal culture of the Middle Ages and the king culture of the Tudors, and from the war culture of the Norsemen to the pacifism of the Quakers. They have been trained under the Druids, under the Roman Church, the Church of England, and the various Protestant sects. They have been organized by Roman procurators and Saxon kings, by Norman autocrats and Puritan democrats, and every sort of group, religious, commercial, occupational and political, has found a place among them. Perhaps in no way can we gain a better idea of the social forces at work in

the world, and of the two great systems that are fundamental in the construction of civilization, than through the study of the Anglo-Saxon nation and its development. Each of these two systems of social organization has a value of its own.

The patriarchal form produced wonders in the external world, the fratriarchal achieved more progress in the minds of men. The former accomplished great results because the will of one could compel the labor of thousands, the latter won its successes by stimulating the minds of all to work together. The former poured the resources of millions into the lap of a few, the latter enabled all to live in prosperity. But the course of history seemed to show an invariable sequence. The fratriarchal groups were swallowed up by the patriarchal in the end. The democratic groups had more energy but not enough unity. The belief became common that fratriarchal government could not be applied to large groups, and must result either in anarchy or tyranny, in the end.

All the fratriarchal governments we have studied, Greece, Rome, France, and many others, ended as autocracies. History seemed to prove that this was an inevitable evolution and that all great nations must be patriarchal in form. This would have been true but for the one nation which succeeded in preserving the fratriarchal forms even through periods of completely autocratic government, until in the end fratriarchal rule became predominant, while the patriarchal usage which still remained, became a mere outward form in which democracy clothed itself. The experiment worked out by the Anglo-Saxon race has enabled most modern nations to replace the old patriarchal rule by some form of democracy. The difficulty with the patriarchal rule has not been on account of the ceremonial that cultivated unity through loyalty to the king, nor has there ordinarily been discontent with the administration of justice, which is often better under a monarchy than under a democracy. The cause of the dissatisfaction has been with that part of the government which has to do with the forming of a

common purpose. The nations of the modern world are not content to have that purpose shaped by the will of one man without consultation with the people. In early days the common purpose was usually war and plunder, and resulted in the division of wealth among the people. In more recent history the opposite is true. Instead of gaining money, each man is required to give a portion of his wealth or his labor to carry out the general plans of the community or the nation.

In the past four hundred years the fundamental question in the maintenance of unity and the development of civilization has been as to the disposal of the product of human labor, which represents the resources of the community. In all ages it has been the attempt of certain individuals to seize what others have produced that has caused most of the friction and division, and it is this which modern government seeks to prevent by the administration of justice. If each individual uses the whole product of his labor for himself, unity and contentment may be preserved, but there is little progress in civilization. It is when a certain portion of these resources is used for a common enterprise or for the expression of some standard of art or education, that the great works are accomplished which are characteristic of the higher civilization. Unity and progress therefore depend, first, on preventing any one individual from taking the product of another's labor against his will, which is provided for by what we term the administration of justice; and second, on taking a certain proportion of the product of labor of each for some common end. This we call taxation. Now the chief complaint against the monarchy was that it failed in this second point. The king collected the taxes but instead of using them for some plan in which all were interested, or for some purpose that would benefit all, he employed them for his own amusement or expended them upon enterprises that were disastrous to the people. He used his power to tax, extorting such sums from the masses that they were left in poverty, and he disposed of the common wealth without consulting them. This led

to an increasing demand on the part of the people that they should have a voice in deciding how this common wealth should be used. The ancient world regarded a tax as a tribute paid by a conquered nation to its conqueror. But it came to mean the expression of a common purpose on the part of the nation and, as such, all demanded the right to direct its use. This question of taxation, which has already been described, in the first chapter on fratriarchal government, as the second difficulty with which each government had to deal, occupies a central position in the history of England, which is really the story of the long struggle between the king and the people to direct the common purpose of the nation through the control of its taxes. Out of that conflict sprang a composite form of unity which is of great interest, and the methods evolved by the British have been used as models by many nations. The story of the way in which their democratic forms originated and were defended against a most autocratic kingship, until British statesmen could work out a harmony of the two systems, deserves the most careful attention and will be considered in the ensuing chapters. Conditions in England favored the production of the type of character and emotional culture necessary to democracy, and we can note in English history the development of those emotions and forms of government which made our nation possible. In continual conflict with the old patriarchal and autocratic system, the great idea of a unity achieved through liberty instead of by tyranny gradually gained strength, and clothed itself with the needed forms, and built its powerhouses in which the essential emotions could be developed.

I. THE INTERMINGLING OF ANTAGONISTIC CULTURES

As has just been stated there is perhaps no place where racial cultures have been more intermingled than in England. The island was sufficiently isolated to enable it to develop a type of its own, but that type was frequently modified by the entrance of new elements of diverse nature.

When two or more well developed types are mingled the result is usually disastrous. It may produce a monster that has certain of the characteristics of each without the symmetry of either, like some of the oriental religions resulting from a conglomeration. On the other hand, the component types may neutralize each other and produce an incoherent society without forms and standards, as seems to be threatened in America to-day. It is possible, however, that some one type will prove the strongest, and either dominate the others entirely or render them subordinate, while it still retains their finer features. Usually the patriarchal autocratic culture proved the strongest, and all other forms were compelled to submit to its centralized war-machine, and their culture was soon stamped out. Twice the autocratic culture of the Continent succeeded in subjugating England: under the Romans and again under the Normans: but the strength of the local culture resisted the foreign importation until at length the old culture, protected by the isolation of the island, would become dominant once more.

The first inhabitants of England to leave a mark on its civilization are supposed to be a race of the Iberian stock, small in stature and dark in complexion. They lived in communal villages, and probably practised exogamy and worshipped the Mother Goddess whose worship was the usual basis of unity in such primitive tribes as traced their descent through the mother.

Early history here seems closely similar to that of India, for upon these primitive tribes there descended a race of Celts similar to the Aryas, who conquered, as the Aryas did in India, because their culture was patriarchal and better adapted to unify a fighting nation. Their basis of unification was the patriarchal family and not the primitive commune. The family organization was similar to that in other primitive Aryan nations. The deepest reverence for the head of the clan was cultivated. All crime was regarded as committed against the family, which was under obligation to avenge it. All land was owned by the family, and administered by its head. The larger group or tribe was composed

of the free heads of families, who apparently met in council to elect their chiefs and to decide their plans. Thus although the family was patriarchal, the group was more or less fratriarchal in character, like the Chinese or Indian village, or the Greek city.

In this council of free men the group was unified by forward-moving emotions such as enthusiasm and the war-spirit. This gave it a great advantage against the autocratic system where the emotions used to produce unity were repressive. It was through this council that the group formed its own purpose and carried it out, instead of having the purpose of a king forced upon it. We have seen how Greece and Rome, largely because they were governed in this fashion, came to leadership in the world, how the system failed because no means had been devised to enable it to deal with more than a small group, and how it was necessary to return to the old autocratic forms in order to hold civilization together and enforce its laws. We have seen that in China and India the council persisted in the village, while it was dominated by autocratic forms in the national government. The following chapters will endeavor to show how in England this culture of the council of free men, suppressed again and again, yet remained fundamental in the life and emotional development of the race, until at last men invented a form through which it could be applied to large numbers and to the nation as a whole, and made it dominant over the old culture of the kingship. The most significant feature of the intermingling of cultures in England was that it produced neither a monstrous and distorted form, nor a neutralized *mélange* without any definite standards, but a coherent system in which the essential features of each culture were preserved and properly co-ordinated. No other race has shown such a genius for government, and the world owes England an incalculable debt for solving the problem of the adjustment of the patriarchal and fratriarchal systems, and demonstrating that each supplied an element essential to good government, and which could not be neglected without disaster. In the following chapters we

shall follow the development and interaction of these two cultures.

2. THE CULTURE OF THE BRITONS AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST

The Celtic tribes apparently maintained a unification culture similar to that of the Aryans. The Roman historians state that one of the Celtic gods, whom they called Diispater, was the ancestor of them all. The other gods, though they may once have been ancestors, had reached the stage where they had become Nature gods, as we find them to be in India and Greece. As in India the force of law and custom was maintained by a culture of reverence for the caste of the Brahmins, so in Britain the clan of the Druids was held in reverence and maintained that respect for law and custom and government which is fundamental to civilization. There were three orders among the Druids. The chief order wore blue or white robes and officiated at the ceremonies and sacrifices which were demanded by the gods. They were priests and prophets whose authority was so great that they could stop a battle by suddenly stepping between the combatants. The second order of Ovates wore the green robe and embraced the bards and philosophers. They taught a noble philosophy and by the culture of awe maintained their code, the three main points of which were: obedience to the divine laws, concern for the good of man, and fortitude under the vicissitudes of life. The Romans began their conquests with the culture of fear, and terrified their subject nations by deeds of frightfulness. But when the conquered land became a Roman province it at once began to profit, for the Romans put an end to tribal feuds and enforced peace and justice. They established communications and garrisons. They educated the hostages they received from the British kings, and gave them a knowledge of Roman culture. Thus they created a united people by force of arms, and the Roman civilization spread rapidly. The natives were allowed to preserve their customs and religion. The Romans put down revolts with terrible severity, but

when submission was made, the natives were treated in the main with generosity. Their revolts were due to unjust treatment by corrupt governors. In the absence of Suetonius, who was an excellent general, Boadicea, queen of the subject kingdom of the Iceni, went to London and appealed to the Roman procurator against some injustice that had been offered her. The Roman ordered the queen to be flogged, and her daughters were violated. A vivid picture has come down to us of the queen as she stood on the top of a hillock, clad in her brilliant tartan of red and green, with the royal cloak upon her shoulders, and the torque of gold about her neck, her long red-gold hair streaming to her waist, as with burning words she roused her clansmen to avenge the foul insult. They captured London and in their fury slaughtered seventy thousand of the population. One Roman legion was slain, and another terrorized. She could not stand against the tried soldiers of Suetonius, however, when he returned. Her army was cut to pieces. Eighty thousand were slain and the queen herself took poison. The Romans had learned that no people can be held long by force alone, and they began at once the effort to create a sense of unity by the culture of religion.

The Druids were irrevocably opposed to foreign domination and Suetonius seems to have felt that no real unification was possible so long as they remained in power. At the time of the revolt of Boadicea he was absent on an expedition to destroy the Druidic headquarters on the island of Mona. His soldiers were at first terrified at the lonely grandeur of the Dark Isle, at the wild dances of devotees with their dishevelled hair and flaming torches, and at the majestic white-bearded Druids who met them with a solemn curse. The Romans were nearly wrecked in the stormy waters, but Suetonius urged them on and calmed their fears. They landed and with Roman thoroughness massacred all the Druids and utterly destroyed their sanctuary. So important did the Romans think it to eliminate an unamalgamable national culture.

Such features of the religion as could be amalgamated

they preserved, and the British gods were identified as far as possible with those of Rome. The most potent unification culture of the Romans was the emperor-worship, and this was instituted in Britain. The statue of the Emperor Claudius was set up at Camulodunum, and the Romans as usual insisted that the natives should worship the Emperor as their god. The Britons realized the effect of this culture on their racial independence, and in the revolt of Boadicea their first effort was to capture and destroy this statue.

In another chapter we have described the decay of the Roman imperial culture, and the substitution for it of Christianity under Constantine. Little is known of the manner in which these cultures were used in Britain. The Christianity of Britain seems to have been of the primitive patriarchal type. It cultivated the spirit of brotherly love, and its main power was in its monasteries, which drew many of the leading British Princes into their fold.

Here was preserved much of the old spirit of independence. There was no centralized patriarchal authority, but the church existed as a series of groups of brothers who were more or less independent of one another, and who looked to Rome with reverence indeed, but with no sense of subjection.

This civilization grew and developed for four centuries, reaching a high point of culture and art, if we may judge by its remains. In the meantime Rome was sinking before the inroads of the barbarians, and at last, in the fifth century, after the Britons had made several futile appeals for aid, the Emperor Honorius informed them that he must leave them to defend themselves from the terrible Vikings of the North, who were descending upon them with ever-increasing power. The result showed how utterly unfit the Roman government had made them for self-defense or self-government. The whole civilization crumbled before the savage invaders, who left scarcely one stone upon another, of all the villas and churches and proud cities built by the genius of the Romans. Both Roman and Celt were brutally butchered or driven into the mountain fastnesses of Wales

and Scotland, so that of all that civilization that had lasted for 400 years there remained neither language nor laws nor art nor customs. Elsewhere in Europe the invading barbarians took over the laws and language and government of Rome and little by little the seat of the reconstituted Roman Empire moved from Rome to France under Charlemagne, then to Germany, and at last to Vienna. The Roman civilization thus found its final capital and support outside its former boundaries, and among the one people of Europe whom Rome failed to subjugate.

In Britain, however, the situation was reversed. The Teutonic tribes, which in their own original domain accepted the Roman civilization, carried their own customs and government over to Britain, and having utterly wiped out the Roman culture which had been so long established, built up their own institutions and culture on the old Teutonic lines. Here was almost the only spot where the Teutonic idea was left undisturbed to follow its own way without the interference of the Oriental or Roman system. It was probably similar in many respects to the culture of the Celtic race, which had been overturned by the Romans, and there may have been some ancient traditions that still survived. The idea of the warlike council of free men was the most fundamental and the one which had the greatest effect on the development of England.

3. THE RETURN OF THE FRATRIARCHAL SPIRIT TO BRITAIN

For four centuries, Britain had developed a civilization which was made possible by the unification of her warring tribes under the repressive patriarchal domination of Rome. The councils of free men and the spirit of initiative had well-nigh disappeared. A large proportion of the people were serfs under the rule of proprietors, and even the latter were by no means free men in the old British sense. They were taxed for the benefit of the Roman overlords. They had no voice in directing how the money raised by taxation

should be employed, and therefore they were not free to employ the surplus of their wealth in carrying out a common purpose. Their laws and leaders, in the main, were forced upon them by outside authority. Terrible though the destruction of this civilization was, the importance of clearing the field of every fragment of that old repressive system is evident to-day. The incoming tide of the English brought with them a reinforcement for the old fratriarchal culture and spirit, and it is doubtful if it could ever have come to success if the Roman tradition had remained. The English tribes were self-directing bodies of great initiative, held together not by fear and awe, but by the forward-driving emotions connected with the war-spirit. Their culture was essentially fratriarchal. It had undoubtedly started with the old patriarchal family system where the ancestors of the group were worshipped, and the clan and tribe were unified on the basis of blood-relationship. England, however, was conquered and settled mainly by war-bands, although some claim there are traces of clan and tribal organization. There were three main groups of invaders, the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles, but their customs and traditions seem to have been largely the same, and they united at times into war-bands and kingdoms, which ignored the tribal lines between them.

As stated in a previous chapter, the basis of the war-band or "comitatus" was a mutual agreement between the leader and his followers, in which they gave him a pledge of obedience and loyalty, and he promised them protection and justice and a fair share of the plunder. The chief usually gave each follower a ring, a sword or a helmet, as proof of his trust, and they pledged their mutual loyalty in the beer-hall, pouring out a libation of beer to Wotan. The emotion which united the band was the war-spirit, the love of battle and conquest, and the desire of plunder. These emotions all supplied a great forward drive which was very different from the repressive action of the fear and awe by which unity was secured under the Roman system. The warriors were kept obedient to their leader not so much by

fear as by a sense of honor which held them loyal to their agreement.

The conquered land was apparently divided by lot among the victors. The Roman and British cities were nearly all destroyed. Such inhabitants as were not slain remained as serfs under their new masters. The English chiefs or *eorls* had large estates on which were villages of serfs. The common soldiers or *ceorls* had farms which were sometimes separate and sometimes grouped together to form a village. The same arrangement held in the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, but there the unification system of the Roman rule and the Christian church dominated in the end. Here the culture of the Comitatus was left free for some time to develop on its own lines. The original unit seems to have been the Hundred, which apparently was a district from which one hundred warriors were mustered. This usually included several villages. The important point is that the basis of unification was military rather than ancestral, and the sense of unity was not based so much upon blood-relationship as upon a common enterprise.

4. A GOVERNMENT OF FREE MEN

When we consider the second main point in unification, the forming of a common purpose and the choice of a leader to carry it out, we find that here also the method was distinctly fratriarchal. It is doubted by some if the invading tribes had kings in their original habitat. They were probably governed by the council of free men in each tribe. In time of war, chiefs were often chosen by lot and their power lapsed at the end of the campaign. But the conquest of England and the situation of the invaders in the land they were subjugating demanded the appointment and continuous rule of war-chiefs. These chiefs were chosen in the assembly of the men at arms, who in the early days raised the man of their choice upon a shield, and hailed him with shouts and the clash of arms. Even when later the kingship became hereditary, the King's son was never recognized as

King until he had been presented to the assembly and acclaimed by the fighting men as their ruler. Something of patriarchal prestige was secured by these kings, who claimed direct descent from the god Wotan in the old oriental fashion. This, however, seems to have been only an adjunct. The real basis of their authority was not awe for them as representing the tribal god. Their real power came from the fact that they were the choice of the people, and that the people felt themselves bound to obedience by that choice. The feeling at the root of such a state is quite different from that on which the oriental empires were built.

The third important point in unification concerns the laws and standards of the group, and here also we find a notable divergence from the old patriarchal system. In the usual patriarchal culture, law and custom were an immutable code promulgated by the god or handed down from the first ancestor. It was enforced by the Mana and Miasma system. A law broken or custom violated exposed the transgressor to the powers of evil. He became infected and the community to protect itself expelled or destroyed him. The Romans distinguished between this primitive religious law and the laws made in their assemblies, but the tendency was to develop an inviolable code, which was associated with the Miasma idea, and to make use of the emotion of awe and fear, in enforcing it. With the English, the Mana and Miasma idea seems to have been of much less importance. Law was regarded not as a sacred code, immutable and inviolable, so much as a series of decisions made by the people for their convenience and subject to alteration. Judgment upon a transgressor was not rendered by an infallible representative of the god, but by a group of his peers. The idea back of the English law seems to have been that a man should be judged by the sense of justice in his fellow men, rather than by a fixed code which represented the will of God. The codes drawn up by the first English kings are merely a list of "boots" or penalties which must be paid for various offenses.

As before stated, crime was originally against the fam-

ily. In the early Cymric system, if a man murdered some one within the bounds of his own kindred, there was no penalty or fine. He was outlawed and cut off from his kindred. If he killed some one in another family, it was then their duty to avenge the death. Blood feuds thus arose and proved so disastrous that the plan of the "wergeld" was evolved. In the Cymric law, if a man killed a member of another family, his family must then pay a fine of 120 cows to the family of the murdered man. The murderer and his immediate family had to supply 40 cows, his other kinsmen, to the limit of fifth cousins, had to pay the remaining 80. By this payment, the murderer's life was made safe, and the feud was avoided. The same system existed among the English invaders, which is proof that the family of blood-kinship survived, in spite of the war organization. The English defined the family as an organization of nine generations and pictured it in the likeness of the human body. The head represented the founder of the family and his wife. His children were the neck; the children of the next generation were the shoulders; their children were the elbows; the next generation, the wrist. Then came the three joints of the fingers in succession and, finally, the finger-nails,—the ninth generation, with which the family responsibility for the "wergeld" ended. No marriage was allowed within the first four joints.

The systems of "wergelds" was greatly elaborated by the English until there was a "boot" for every offense or insult which might start a feud. The amount of the fine was later proportioned to the value of the injured man to the group, and each man had his own "wergeld." It is, therefore, evident that the law of the Anglo-Saxons was a definite intelligent device to preserve unity when feelings had been aroused which would break it up, and we find very little trace of the old taboos based on meaningless superstition. The offense originally was against the injured family, but when the King had once codified the law, as was done by Ethelbert and Alfred, the offense came to be regarded as against the King and the "King's peace." In such a system,

law was not enforced by the feeling of awe as elsewhere, but rather by the intelligence of the people and their sense of justice and of honor, in standing by their agreement with the King. The King was not the source of the law as representative of the gods; he was subject to the laws and customs. He could touch no freeman's property or life without process of law, and he could make no law without the consent of the people.

5. THE FORMS OF RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT: THE EXPRESSION OF THE WAR SPIRIT

It is necessary now to consider the forms through which such a unification system expressed itself, and we turn first to the forms by which the sense of unity was maintained, and which ordinarily constitute the religion of a nation. As the unifying emotions were chiefly those associated with war, we find little of the stately ceremonial designed to cultivate reverence. The important gods were war gods. Wotan, the chief god, was the giver of victory, and also the protector of boundaries and the inventor of Runic writing. Tiw was the god of war; Thor, the Thunderer, was similar to him. These all appear in the names given to the days of our week, as does also Friege, Wotan's wife. The priesthood had comparatively little influence, and the real unifying emotional culture was in the assembly of the warriors, where the war spirit was cultivated. There was constant need of defense and there were continual expeditions for conquest and plunder. These objects were brought before the assembly of the people, or folk moot, and the will of all was aroused and directed and intensified by the development of enthusiasm or rage, until they were all united in one purpose. Only the men of one village could be aroused in such a local assembly, but a leader might go from village to village and present his cause in each assembly. It was thus that the Comitatus was formed, for those who elected to go with him became, by solemn agreement, members of a family of which he was the father, and bound

themselves to obey him implicitly as he in turn agreed to provide for them and share with them. It was probably thus that the war bands were formed that conquered England. Each such band had its assembly, just as the clan had had its gathering of freemen. This assembly was also the important feature in the system by which the group formed and carried out a common purpose. Each village probably had in the beginning its own assembly and its own council of elders or ealdormen, which decided its own local affairs, and acted as a court to enforce the customs of the village.

Mention has already been made of the Hundred Moot, which was probably at first a muster of each district that could furnish one hundred men at arms. Later it became both the assembly and court of the district and met monthly or quarterly. Attendance was compulsory and a reeve and some four men were sent from each village. An Elder or Eorl was elected to preside. Above this was the Shire Moot, to which delegates were sent from each Hundred probably once a year. The King or the Eorl or Count of the Shire presided. Later a Sheriff (shire reeve) was present to represent the king. The purpose of the moot was threefold. First, it was a muster of the military force of the shire, and the men all attended fully armed. Second, it was an assembly at which their leaders were chosen and their purposes determined. Third, it was a court where all the important cases of the shire were decided. As just stated, the chief function of the law was to prevent the disunion resulting from feuds, and it was the duty of the king or his representative to see that all injuries or disputes that threatened a rupture were justly and amicably settled.

The plan was gradually systematized and applied throughout the nation. The government of a city corresponded to the Shire Moot, the borough assembly to the Hundred Moot. As the family unity and responsibility disintegrated, local responsibility was substituted for it, as in China and also in Rome.

6. THE GREAT INVENTION OF THE ENGLISH GROUP REPRESENTATION

The chief peculiarity of the British System is found in the Anglo-Saxon invention of group representation. When the village sent its reeve and four men to the Hundred Moot, it was felt that the whole village was actually present in them. They were the village. It was upon the efficacy of the emotional effect of this dramatization that the success of democracy depended. If the village did not really feel that they were present in these men, and if the whole assembly did not feel the presence of the village in its representatives, the plan would not work. To succeed such a plan requires definite emotional culture and training.

We have already shown how the Greek system failed to solve this difficulty, and have indicated that such representation presents obstacles to the emotions. A subordinate dressed in proper regalia can make a mass of people feel that officially, in his commands and laws, he really is the king. It is more difficult to put emotional values or the sense of reality into an arrangement whereby one man represents a hundred other men. An audience can be made to feel that a representative really is what he represents, when he represents only one man, but their imagination fails to work when they are told that a hundred men are present in him. Other men do not feel the presence of those whom he represents. A second difficulty is that a common will is much more difficult to represent than a single authority. After the members of a community have met, and have been aroused to a united will and purpose, and fused into unity by their emotion, they can send a representative to meet those of other communities; but at once a difficulty appears. It should be possible for these delegates to fuse their emotions and produce a provincial will, and for the delegates of the provinces in their assembly to produce a national will. But it is very unlikely that the will of the assembly of the delegates will be at all the same with the various wills of the assemblies that sent them. The will of the local assem-

bly must be modified in the assembly of delegates to adjust with the wills of the other assemblies, and it is by no means sure that the local assemblies will accept these modifications. To insure unity by this means, the people must feel themselves present in their delegate, presenting their will through him and feeling as he does the modifying forces presented by other delegates. This has only been made possible by the facilities of communication developed in recent years. To-day by the press and radio it is possible for the people to be present with their delegate and fight their battles through him, to be convinced with him of the necessity of modification, and to become enthusiastically united with him in the final decision. In mediæval times it was well-nigh impossible. This is the reason why every fratriarchal government changed to the patriarchal form when it became necessary to hold large numbers in unity. The will of one man can be carried down to the people through his representatives and impressed upon them. The will of the millions cannot be carried up through their delegates in the same way. They have to meet in one assembly to develop a common will, and that will can be carried by a delegate to a second assembly, but it cannot be modified in that assembly and still remain their will. Therefore, such assemblies of delegates are likely to result in disunion, for the local assemblies feel that their will has been disregarded.

Although the primitive system of the English has been vastly improved and developed, the democratic governments of our own age are still hampered by this difficulty. It is, therefore, not unnatural to find that the English returned repeatedly to patriarchal forms before they could perfect the system in use to-day. The representative system had not been organized as a national institution. We merely know that group representation was practised in certain instances in the early days. There was therefore a continual vibration between fratriarchal and patriarchal forms.

Large temporary unities were created by the war spirit, but when the common purpose was accomplished, there was no organization to hold the groups together, and there was

always an effort made by the kings or the leaders in war to hold these temporary unities together by force or by building up a patriarchal system of some kind. The history of England is the story of the conflict of these two systems,—the will of the people unifying them for some temporary purpose, and creating forms through which that will could be expressed, only to find that these forms of unity were taken over by the king, and made to express his will, as he assumed the old patriarchal control, which knew no will but his will and no law but that which he enforced. As regards the enforcement of law, it is evident that this is much simpler when it is carried out by patriarchal authority and reinforced by reverence and awe. If it were merely a question of carrying out the law, it is possible that it would be more advantageous for the people if it should be done by an autocratic king. But there was no means to prevent the king when he assumed this function of enforcing law from taking over also the function of controlling the resources of the community entirely for his own purpose, and in disregard of any purpose of the people. It was here that occurred the great conflict upon which English history centres. The people were willing that the king should be the head of the culture for their sense of unity and their executive in enforcing the law, but they wished to express their own will as to the forming of national purposes and as to the disposal of their resources.

7. CHRISTIANITY AS A DANGER TO ANGLO-SAXON UNITY

It has already been noted that the religion of the Anglo-Saxons was pagan and that their dominant gods were gods of war. It will be seen from what has been said that this was essential. In a system of this sort, where unity was secured by fusing the wills of the people, war was almost the only means to hold together a large enough number of people to form the basis of civilization. Just as the early church was unified by the spirit of love, so the Teutonic peoples were unified by the spirit of war. Their rulers realized this, just as Bismarck did in more recent years, and they conse-

quently used their religion mainly as a culture for the development and unification of the warlike emotions. When Christianity first came into contact with them through missionaries sent from Ireland, it attempted to teach peace and non-resistance. The typical old-time Anglo-Saxon kings, such as Penda, regarded this teaching as fatal to their kingship, and persecuted the Christians with all their might. The Romans attacked Christianity because it threatened the emotion of reverence for Rome and the Emperor, upon which the unity of the Empire was built. The Anglo-Saxons opposed Christianity because it threatened to subdue the warlike emotions by means of which their unity was achieved.

The Christianity with which they came at first in contact had long been separated from Rome, and therefore had not the same unifying culture which had been worked out under the Empire. The church of Rome had secured unity by creating a monopoly of truth and salvation so that no divergence of thought was possible, and by supplementing this by a most effective organization of the patriarchal type. In Ireland, however, the church was not organized under one head in the Roman fashion. It had followed the tribal organization of the British, and each clan had its own church, which served to unify the tribe, but accomplished little in the way of a general unification culture. The spirit of the Irish Church was fratriarchal rather than patriarchal. It was a brotherhood whose main seat was in the monasteries.

In the meantime the Pope had sent representatives from Rome to Queen Bertha and King Æthelbert of Kent, and had gained a foothold in southern England. These churchmen at once began to give evidence of the value of the system of unification in which they had been trained. It did not, however, appeal to the democratic spirit of the old British church. When Augustine arrived, such of the officials of the British church as remained were asked to receive him. The test they agreed upon has been regarded as trivial and absurd. In truth it was not so. It was a test as

to whether his attitude was patriarchal or fratriarchal, whether he brought a spirit that would harmonize with the independence of the English or sought only to dominate them. They decided that if he rose and came to greet them they would accept him. If he remained seated and made them come to him, they would reject him. He remained seated and they rejected him. It is probably for the same fundamental reason that England rejected the Roman Church centuries later.

So far back then do we see the beginnings of that struggle between the local democratic forms and spirit and the patriarchal culture which others sought to impose upon the British, and thus to make them a part of the world's unity by subjecting them to a foreign ruler.

It is always a danger to any civilization to introduce into it a culture developed under a different type of civilization. The Anglo-Saxon Society was characterized by local self-government and the spirit of independence. Its great danger was the lack of unity. The unifying forces were first the war spirit, and second, the strong feeling of family responsibility. Christianity directly opposed the war spirit and early British Christianity undermined the feeling of family responsibility, as those who became monks renounced family ties. It brought no adequate unification culture to supply the place of these forces which it destroyed, and illustrates the fact that the introduction of a type of emotional culture as superior to the old as the culture of Christian love was to that of warfare and rage, will probably only work division and disaster unless the new culture is presented in forms which are adapted to the national development, and which enable it to replace the old culture with some new form of national unification.

8. ORGANIZATION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF ROME TO THE UNIFICATION OF ENGLAND

The old British Church with its fratriarchal spirit seemed unable to work out any culture which could unify the vari-

ous English tribes, and rather weakened than aided their solidarity. The new mission from the Roman Church accomplished but little for unification until, in 669 A. D., the Monk Theodore of Tarsus was sent by the Pope to be primate of England. He at once began to apply the old Roman patriarchal unification culture through organized representation. He, himself, represented the Pope, and he made the Bishops in the various Kingdoms his representatives. They in turn had prelates who represented them in the countries, and each of these was represented by a number of parish priests. The people of each parish, though they might have no sense of unity with the people of other parishes, were made through their own priests to feel their unity with the head of the church. A still more important feature was that of the hierarchy of assemblies which Theodore arranged to correspond with the divisions of the people. Stubbs says that the Council of Hereford which he called in 673 was the first collective act of the English race. Although there were only six Bishops with right to vote and legislate, yet this little group of men with their followers and learned associates did represent all the English Kingdoms and districts, and constituted the first English national assembly through which the national feeling was first brought to birth. Each Bishop had his assembly of prelates in his diocese. Each County Officer of the Church (later these were Bishops) had his assembly of parish priests, and each priest had a council of the men of his parish. In this hierarchy of assemblies was created an organization of incalculable value for the development of national feeling and action. The difficulty with it, as a probable vehicle of the Anglo-Saxon spirit, was that it was distinctly patriarchal. It was a system of representation from above downward, and not from below upward, like primitive Christianity or true fratriarchal government. Each assembly represented a higher authority and not a group of the people beneath. It was possible, however, that such an organization, once in existence, could be put to fratriarchal uses and could be made to convey representation from below upward, instead of from above downward.

The great difficulty with the Anglo-Saxon method of unification, as with all those of the fratriarchal type, was that there was no effective method of unifying the various folk moots or assemblies. The men of one assembly might have their wills united in one purpose, while those of another assembly would centre about quite another idea. It was necessary for a leader to go from group to group seeking to arouse in each the same emotion. But when the parishes were once organized by Theodore and trained to feel that they belonged in certain Hundreds and the Hundreds in turn were made to feel that they had a part in the assembly of a certain shire, there was here the beginning of an organized nation. We have already spoken of the great Anglo-Saxon invention of representation from below upward. Many think that this was made possible through the organization created by Theodore, and that having once evolved the principle of electing representatives from a group to a higher assembly, the English followed out Theodore's organization, and arranged that each tything or parish should send its reeve and four men to the Hundred Moot, and that each Hundred should elect twelve men who together with certain of the reeves and their companions represented it in the Shire Moot over which the Earl presided. If a complicated telephone system has been built to carry a voice from the centre to a thousand points on the periphery, it can be used with but little change to carry the voices of the periphery to the centre. This is apparently what happened to the system of Theodore. It is extremely difficult to follow the stages of development, but it is probable that the Roman Church organization assisted greatly in the development of an organized national government. At the centre of this government was the king, who was still chosen by the central assembly of the great men of the Kingdom and presented by them to the folk moot. This central assembly or Witanagemot still had power to depose a king, and fratriarchal elements were present under the most patriarchal of the English kings. Historians differ vastly as to how and when this idea of

group representation from below upward was developed in England. But all agree that it did come gradually into operation. The English people thus made the greatest contribution ever made to human government and provided a method of dramatization by which a sense of unity could be created and maintained for a fratriarchal nation. This was the only method ever discovered which could replace the old drama of the kingship as an effective method of unifying a whole nation or empire. It was to take many centuries to bring it to successful operation, and often it seemed to be entirely swept away by the returning tide of autocracy. But still it remained, awaiting the opportunity which a later age was to afford.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH NATION

I. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

IN early Britain we have seen the fratriarchal spirit and culture weakened by the British kinglets and dominated entirely by the Roman imperial system, only to arise again under the English invaders. We see the same history now repeat itself. Under the English kings the fratriarchal spirit again was weakened; it was crushed still more by the Danish invasions, and at length was dominated and shackled by the Norman conquerors. But even beneath the iron rule of Norman and Angevin it still lived on, suppressed and smouldering, but always remembered as the first law of the land, a law which in the end was to master the King and compel him to acknowledge that instead of being above the law, like other autocrats, he was subject to it and to the rights of the people. It is necessary to follow in outline the means by which the yoke of autocratic authority was put once more upon the necks of the free men of England. As usual when the first attempts at national unification were made, the inadequacy of the fratriarchal culture became evident and the king fell back upon the old patriarchal methods.

In spite of all this, the old assemblies still existed with varying degrees of power, at different times, and in different places. The tradition remained, and the old spirit of independence endured and struggled to assert itself whenever possible. Even when the monarchy had become hereditary and the king ruled by Divine right, he nevertheless had to submit himself to some representative folk moot such as that of London, in order that he might be acclaimed by the people,—just as in the old days when he was

selected by the Witanagemot and presented by them to the folk moot. Even William the Conqueror thus submitted himself after the death of Harold, and was acclaimed king of England after he had promised to rule according to the customs and laws of the land.

William at first intended to rule as an English king, but after repeated revolts had compelled him to reconquer the country inch by inch he adopted a different course. By a deliberate policy of frightfulness and to terrify the English into submission, he destroyed every town and village of Yorkshire, leaving hardly a blade of grass. He then took over England, no longer as an English king but as a foreign conqueror, and confiscated the lands of the Anglo-Saxons. Some of these he turned over to his followers, for whom he was responsible as the head of the comitatus, others he returned to the English owners with the understanding that the land belonged to him and was given to them only in return for a pledge of loyalty. In this way he changed the fundamental idea on which the nation was built. Hitherto in spite of modifications the basal idea was that the land was the folksland, the king was the choice of the people and the assemblies and officials their representatives. Now the land became the king's land. No one had a right to it without a grant from the king. The officials were his representatives; the men were his men. He summoned a great assembly of all who were to have land and granted it to them on condition of their solemn oath to be his men and to be loyal to him first of all. He thus became himself the direct lord of all landholders, and avoided the difficulty of the French system in which the landholders' first allegiance was given to the local lord, thus making it easy for him to rebel against the king. This national assembly of landholders, summoned by the king, was in one sense a patriarchal form of the old assemblies of the people, and it returned ultimately to the elective form and became the parliament. The Witanagemot became first a council of officials and national leaders, and gradually developed into the House of Lords. At the end of William's reign not a single

earl was English. All were Normans appointed by the king.

The Normans brought with them a system of legal procedure which differed from that of the Anglo-Saxons. This was known as the trial by battle. The Normans had mingled Christianity with the original idea that might makes right in curious fashion, so that they had come to believe that God decided the issue of the combat in favor of the innocent and thus the battle trial was given a sort of Divine sanction.

The law of the trial by battle was very definitely regulated. The accused and accuser were compelled to fight. The challenge was given by throwing down a glove or gauntlet of a prescribed type and at first certain ancient weapons of wood and horn were used. The contestants were to fight until twilight if necessary. The object was not to kill but to compel one of the contestants to cry "Craven!" This proved that he was perjured. If he was accused of crime he was then hanged or mutilated. If he was the accuser, he was fined sixty shillings and declared "infamous" or dishonored.

After the conquest William allowed the English to preserve their own law and if an Englishman was accused by a Norman he could choose either the Norman trial of battle or the Saxon trial by oath as he preferred. Under Henry through the influence of Matilda the English method gained ground. Finally under Henry II it became law that in case of litigation about land, for example, instead of accepting the plaintiff's challenge to fight, the defendant might put himself on the king's grand assize. Action was then reserved for the king's court. Twelve knights or prominent men from the district investigated the case and gave verdict. This was the beginning of the jury system, though the jurors at first were witnesses rather than judges. This became gradually the regular legal method. In the Hundred Court Jurors representing the Hundred brought the indictment against the accused as is done by our grand jury. The accused was then asked if he consented to the trial by jury. If he did a second jury was selected to try him. If he re-

fused, he could be tried by ordeal or be "pressed to death." This method of trial by a jury of a man's peers lies at the root of English law, and has kept it fundamentally fraternal in character in spite of many patriarchal overlords. The emotion at the root of such a procedure is not awe of authority but respect for the opinion of the community.

2. THE INTERACTION OF FREE WILL AND AUTHORITY

England was unique among nations since the two methods by which men can be unified were there in simultaneous operation for many centuries. The first Normans started as English kings with the promise to observe the English customs and laws. But such a king as William or Richard regarded himself rather as the head of a war band than as the chosen leader of the people. He needed money and men to continue his conquests and forays. The old English law provided that the people could use their surplus resources to carry out their common will. Their money could not be taken from them without their vote, nor could men be forced to fight contrary to their will. The kings were impatient of the necessity to appeal to the people for such "aids," as money grants were termed. They wished the autocratic right to claim all wealth as belonging to them and to command all men as their vassals. The way to secure this was to establish the usual patriarchal culture of awe. We find more and more of the ceremonial that set the king apart, and that hedged him about with divinity. The Church, and its culture presented him as the Lord's anointed, a divinely appointed master. In so far as he could maintain among the people this feeling of awe toward him as a divine personage he was able to override their rights and to do as he chose. The qualities of kindness and justice did not apparently help the king to establish such a mastery. It was attained rather by those qualities that made him an object of fear and awe.

A selfish king, if he were strong and clever, might plunder his subjects to almost any extent, as Richard I did, and

perform the most cruel and vindictive acts. Edward I disembowelled Wallace, the hero of Scotland, and hung him up to die in agony; again, on an absurd pretext, he hung two hundred and eighty Jewish men, women and children in the streets of London, plundered the property of sixteen thousand more, and drove them penniless from the country. The power of the monarchy seemed only to be strengthened by such deeds. Such a king could use the whole resources of the nation in accordance with his whim, no matter how foolish or unjust it might be. On the other hand, a king who lost the respect of the people, like the gentle and pious Henry III, met with rebellion and revolution, when he sought to grasp the wealth of the nation. Or if, like Edward II, he played jokes in the market, or created the impression that he was managed by a favorite, such as a Gaveston or Despenser, all his personal charm could not save him. Under both types of king, England grew. A strong king like Henry II, though he weakened the power of the people, gave them many new laws for their benefit. These were enforced by his will and not by theirs, through the sheriffs and judges who represented him. Under such men progress came from the king's will and made that will even more supreme. Under weak kings, the people gained control and the old system sprang to life enabling the people to assert their will and to extort concessions from the king and some recognition of their ancient rights. When Henry VII came to the throne the power of the nobles was sufficiently broken by the Wars of the Roses to enable him to pass a law against "maintenance," as the system was called which permitted the feudal lords to "maintain" an army of dependents. He thus succeeded in breaking up a process by which small coercive minorities were constantly being created to threaten the unity of the state. His reign forms a close parallel to that of Louis XI in France, who, by his craft and clever diplomacy, succeeded in breaking the power of the nobles. It is interesting that both monarchies should have been saved and brought to prosperity by the appearance in each of a king so unkinglike,—shrewd, crafty, pe-

nurious and unwarlike—who curried favor with the commonalty and spurned the aristocrats. Both gained their power not by the patriarchal method of cultivating awe, but by the fratriarchal plan of presenting themselves as the champions of the people against the barons. When once the power was gained, it was used by their successors to create the most autocratic type of kingship that England and France had yet seen. This was delayed in France by a recrudescence of the power of the nobles and reached its climax only under Louis XIV, but came to immediate florescence in England in the reign of Henry VIII.

3. TYRANNY AND ITS EMOTIONAL CULTURE

The basis of this type of monarchy was a most extraordinary emotional phenomenon which amounted to a sort of identification of the king with the people. It found expression in France in the words of Louis XIV “*L’etat c’est moi.*” There was a distinction between the French and English idea which might be suggested by saying that in France the king felt that the people were identified with him, while in England the people felt that they were identified with the king. The force of this feeling was so astounding that the whole history of Henry VIII reads like an incredible yarn. The people seemed to be absorbed in the king’s personality. They were glorified in his splendor, carried forward by his prestige, honored in his glory, married in his marriages, involved in his personal quarrels, and a sort of background for his lusts and ambitions. As a man, there probably never was a more pretentious windbag, a more absurd egoist. He had all the forceful presence and violent emotions of the Plantagenets and none of their interest in the public welfare. All his passions were centred on himself. He would sacrifice his people and his principles to his lust at any moment, and would execute his best friend for a fancied slight. And yet, strange to say, these very characteristics brought England to a solidarity never before attained and made her one of the great powers. Without

the people he would have been an absurdity. With them behind him, he was a world force of the first magnitude. The interesting question is as to the means by which he developed the prestige that made it possible for him to unify the people by his authority.

It has been shown that the patriarchal system of government is based on a culture which develops the emotion of awe toward the ruler combined with a sense of unity in him. The people had been trained for centuries to feel their unity with the king as the head of the nation, the owner of the land,—the liege lord from whom all their rights and possessions were derived. The changing succession and the character of Henry VII had, however, somewhat weakened the royal prerogative. The first means by which this was strengthened was by the splendor of the elaborate ritual with which Henry VIII surrounded himself. The money stored up by the parsimony of his predecessor gave him the opportunity for lavish display. His pageants, such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, exceeded anything known even to that age of magnificence. Cardinal Wolsey's gorgeous retinues and thousands of retainers only added to the king's glory, as he was recognized as the king's creature. His most splendid achievement, Hampton Court, he turned over to the king, upon its completion.

The second point in this culture was that the king never permitted his opinion on any point to be disputed, or allowed any slightest intimation that he was wrong in any respect. He succeeded in making it high treason for any one to disagree with him, and any one who asserted a contrary opinion was hanged and disembowelled while living, and cut to fragments. Under the shadow of such a death repeatedly applied, unanimity was acquired with surprising rapidity. No matter how unjust the accusation no man might assert that the king was wrong. No matter how absurd were the utterances of the king, every one must applaud. When Anne Boleyn found Jane Seymour sitting on Henry's knee and fell into such hysterics that her child was stillborn, he heaped reproaches upon her for causing the

death of the heir he had long anticipated, and when in her despair she said that the fault was his he promptly decided upon her death, since she had ventured to contradict him. When Cardinal Pole wrote from Italy in criticism of him, since Henry could not reach the author himself, the Cardinal's mother, the noble Lady Salisbury, was accused of high treason and dragged to lay her gray head upon the block. His will must be recognized as the only law. When he wished to be rid of Anne of Cleves, "The Flanders mare" as he called her, he said that he never really had wanted to marry her, consequently there had been no real marriage, and it must be annulled. And it was. It had never been the king's will and so it was not legal.

A third method of maintaining prestige was to put the responsibility for unpopular acts upon others. Wolsey served as the scapegoat for some time. When Henry wished to get rid of Catherine of Aragon, the reluctant Cranmer was forced to use his authority as God's representative to insist that the king must sever his sinful connection with his brother's widow. Parliament was forced to vote for every unpopular act and assume its responsibility.

A fourth means was his use of the Church as a culture for unity and prestige. At first he used the Roman Church and denounced all Protestants. His thesis against Luther was so absurd as to call forth the thunderous ridicule of that doughty reformer. Henry, however, insisted that the Church should applaud it, and that in recognition of its supreme merits he should be given the title of Defender of the Faith. When his pleas and threats failed to induce the unfortunate Pope Clement to perpetrate the hideous injustice of granting him an annulment of his marriage with Catherine, he gladly accepted Cromwell's astute suggestion that he should become the head of his own Church, and decide the matter himself. The spiritual authority of the pope had become a mere tradition used for political prestige. Julius II had been a warring, intriguing potentate like the others about him. The judgment of Leo X was more respected in matters of art, than in morals. Clement VIII

was practically a prisoner in the hands of the emperor. His chief hope was in Henry, but he dared not offend Spain and the empire. He even suggested that Henry, like Abraham, might be allowed two wives since he could not divorce Catherine. In short he had become merely a pawn with which the world rulers played politics, as they sought to wrest decisions from him in favor of their game. Henry felt that to subordinate himself to the pope's decision was to subject England to foreign dominion. Though the immediate occasion of the separation was criminal, since annulment was a deadly insult to the most loyal and devoted of wives, and involved proclaiming to the world that his only daughter was a bastard, there was nevertheless a fundamental truth in his position which operated to benefit England. It was necessary to develop a separate emotional culture for national unity, in place of the old Church culture which would involve England in all the strife of Europe. A vital motive for Henry was that the change enabled him to seize and plunder the property of the Roman Church. When once he had taken his position as head of the Church, he insisted there must be no divergence from the views which he personally held in theology, or from the forms of ritual which he approved. Though this seems to have been done through vanity, it was nevertheless the best, and perhaps the only way to secure unity under a patriarchal system such as he had developed. It was a time of religious wars and theological quarrels. Each group was developing a powerful emotional culture that united its own members, but set them in violent antagonism with all others. France was soon to be torn asunder by the Huguenot wars, and the empire was on the verge of the religious wars which were to decimate it for thirty years. Henry saw to it that no such divergent cultures should be initiated in England. There was to be but one religion and that should train all men to feel that Henry was the head of the nation, their lord and owner, and the representative of God. As such they must feel that he is right in all his statements and just in all his judgments. It was, of its kind, a perfect system of national uni-

fication. He sent to execution on the same day three Papists and three Anabaptists,—one of each in each tumbril, side by side, the former for loyalty to the pope, the latter for denying the miracle of the mass, each group abhorring the other, and all brought to death together because they did not agree with Henry, which was treason. Even the lofty character of Sir Thomas More, known throughout the world for his learning and statesmanship and virtue, could not save him from death. He could not honestly indorse Henry as the supreme spiritual authority and so was made to lay his head upon the block. He died with a sad jest at the absurdity of it all, saying as he pulled his beard aside, "Pity it should be cut, that has not committed treason." The poor monks of the Charterhouse, pious, simple and kind, were led out with prayers on their lips, each in turn hanged before the eyes of the others, disembowelled while yet living and cut in pieces, and not one would acknowledge Henry in place of the pope. Nicholson, the protestant, stood for five hours and defended his belief in consubstantiation, before the frowning king in his white satin robes, and was dragged away and burned alive, crying, "None but Christ," which of course was treason. The statute was passed "Forbidding diversity of opinion," and it fell upon all, rich and poor, wise and silly, statesmen and peasants, who ventured to differ from the king. Henry was logically correct. There is no better way to split up a patriarchal state than to introduce divergent religious opinions. For religion is essentially an emotional culture. Each opinion, once started, gathers a group to defend it, and soon the state is torn by warring minorities. It would seem impossible to develop a man with a sufficiently stupid passion of egoism to carry out consistently such a policy, but Henry appeared in England's hour of need and accomplished her unification through this process, which was a modern form of the old deification of the king, familiar in Egypt and Rome.

How successful he was in bringing people to feel that he really was the fount of justice and authority, through unity with which they all lived, can be seen from their words.

Anne Boleyn, led to the block after most atrocious treatment at the hands of the king, said to the spectators: "I beseech you to pray for the life of the king, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth and who has always treated me so well that better cannot be." Catherine expressed similar sentiments of devotion after the abominable treatment she had received. Those whom he executed as traitors under absurd charges, died with words of loyalty to him on their lips. The same spirit survived under Elizabeth. When a young printer named Stubbs criticised the marriage with the Duke of Anjou which she then contemplated, she had his right hand cut off. He seized his cap in his left hand, waved it in the air and shouted, "God save the Queen!"

This was the true spirit of patriarchal unification which says with Job: "Though he slay me yet will I trust in him." It is something very much more potent than mere fear. Reverence and a strange and absolute devotion are combined with it. This is always found in any of the successful old time kingdoms, and was the basis of their unity and strength.

A result of making religion a culture to develop reverence for the throne, was that the throne became the real centre of the devotion of the people, and they were ready to change their religion as that devotion dictated. Under Edward VI they turned strongly to Protestantism because their king was a Protestant. At his death they could not be held to Protestantism even under so noble and charming a queen as the Lady Jane Grey. They apparently felt that Mary was the rightful heir and that she must be queen no matter what her religion, and the mass of the people and of the Londoners left their leaders and proclaimed Mary. They knew that the Roman Catholics were the party that maintained her legitimacy while the Church of England had come into being to declare her a bastard, and their devotion to their rightful queen was such that it only took two or three hundred executions to turn them into a Catholic nation. One has only to compare with them the determined Protestantism of the Dutch or the French Hugue-

nots under adverse administrations to see how potent had been the culture of Henry VIII. In astonishment the Venetian ambassador said that the English "would be as zealous followers of Mohammed or of the Jewish religion did the king profess either of them." When Elizabeth came to the throne it was manifest that to be a Catholic was to declare her a bastard, for the Roman Church never recognized Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn. Though Elizabeth herself seems to have preferred the Roman ritual, she and the whole nation immediately changed over to the Protestant religion, and it became high treason to be a Roman Catholic. About 200 executions enforced uniformity, and only a few of the leaders proved unwilling to change. The mass of the people followed the queen.

Elizabeth kept in the main to the policy of her father. The splendor of her court, her dignity and magnificence impressed the world. Though she did not assume the same authority in theological questions, she never allowed herself to be contradicted and kept every one to heel in religious matters. When the Parliament wished to hold a Calvinistic prayer meeting for divine guidance, she sternly rebuked them for venturing on such an unorthodox innovation. She imitated Henry in throwing the responsibility for unpopular acts upon her officers or upon the Parliament. This finally had the unexpected result of giving a real prestige to the Parliament, which was to make itself felt under a ruler of a different type.

4. THE END OF THE "TYRANNY CULTURE"

During her reign began the formation of the divisive minority known as the Puritans, that ultimately issued in revolution. The Protestants, driven overseas by Mary, had formed groups independent of any national feeling and well-nigh as hostile to the Church of England and its ritual as to the Roman Church. Thus as in the time of the early church, there was once more developed a religious organization antagonistic to the state, and which believed that church and state should be separate. In an earlier chapter

we have shown how fatal this was to all patriarchal government. On the return of these exiles, Elizabeth kept them down with a strong hand. James was not so fortunate. He saw the danger of their fratriarchal culture to the kingship, and that such a system, deriving its authority from the people and not from the throne, must inevitably overthrow any form of kingship that then existed. "A presbytery agrees as well with monarchy as God with the devil. No bishop, no king," he said. But he neglected an equally important element in the monarchic culture,—the maintenance of the sentiment of awe, and proceeded to break down all that Henry and Elizabeth had accomplished through fire and blood, by making himself ridiculous. He did not have the commanding stature and violent rages of the Tudors. His absurd fat little body on its pipestem legs, his bonnet askew on his head, his shapeless padded clothes, his vacant rolling eye and loose drooling mouth all awakened the ridicule of his subjects. He gave up matters of state for the cockpit, and overate in a fashion that disgusted men. The ridicule soon became a public matter and actors imitated him on the stage while the audience roared with laughter. The queen, Anne of Denmark, by her splendor and magnificence might have saved the day, had not her ladies won contempt by appearing in public so absurdly intoxicated that they rolled on the floor. Tyranny, lust, murder,—all these the king might have exhibited and maintained the power of the throne, but when he became ridiculous, the old time monarchy was already at an end, though it might linger on into the reign of his son. He still kept up the unified culture of the church by persecuting both Puritans and Catholics, but he had not the dignity to command the awe and devotion of the people. His cringing manner to his favorites made him despised and suspected of unmentionable crimes.

Under the Tudors, the Parliament was the king's creature used by him to levy unpopular taxes and to vote for acts which he feared to promulgate. Their awe of the king made them subservient. When this awe disappeared they

ceased to be so, and not only disputed the king's will but began to suggest measures of their own. The instrument of fratriarchal government was still there, though it had been cleverly used as the implement of autocracy. It now began to resume its original function. Every act of James seemed to destroy the old culture, even when it resembled the deeds of Henry. Henry might put Cromwell to death for forcing an ugly wife on him, and impress the public with his authority and determination. When James put Raleigh to death as a sop to Spain, he impressed men with his weakness. By the patriarchal culture of unity through awe, Henry made the Parliament feel that they were one with him, and subject to his will, though ostensibly they represented the will of the people. Under James they felt no unity with the king or awe of him. They did feel, however, the will of the people behind them, expressing its discontent with the inefficiency and corruption and cowardice of the king's government. It asserted its own fratriarchal rights; first, free speech, and, second, the right to repudiate officers who were acting contrary to its will. It is tragic that this first expression of the will of the people should have struck down one of the greatest Englishmen who ever lived, Francis Bacon, the writer, philosopher, and scientist, who first gave modern thought its direction, and science its method. He had become involved in the corrupt system of his day, which every one had taken as a matter of course. His own diagnosis given as he was led to the block, proves the greatness of the man. "I was the justest judge that was in England in fifty years, but it is the justest censure in Parliament that there was in 200 years."

This was the beginning of the end. James might seek to check the inevitable by an edict forbidding any man to discuss state affairs, but he only made himself the more a laughing stock. Charles found his treasury depleted by the absurd and lavish expenditures of his father in behalf of his worthless favorites and futile enterprises. There was no means to gain money for himself or for any state project save through Parliament, and Parliament would grant noth-

ing until he yielded to the will of the people and reformed the abuses of the day. And so the two systems, fratriarchal and patriarchal, the culture of awe and the culture of will, met face to face at last in a battle unto death. The king stormed and stamped and threatened, but the old culture of Henry held no longer. Steadily, firmly, reverently at first, and on their knees, the representatives of the people expressed the people's will. As the king sought to force his will upon them they resisted more and more firmly, breaking the instruments he used, until even the great Strafford must lay his head upon the block,—not for any law broken, but because by skill and craft and force he knew how to resist the will of the people.

5. THE HARMONY OF PATRIARCHAL AND FRATRIARCHAL

It was at the trial of Strafford that Pym first gave expression to a statement of the real relation of the two systems and showed how they might work in harmony for the good of all. "Take away the king," he said, "and the vigor and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain." In other words, if you do away with the patriarchal culture, you will still have laws but no emotional drive to secure obedience. He then went on to show that there must be a clearly defined boundary between the king's authority and the people's will, to limit the field of the two cultures. "The law is the boundary betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. While these move in their own orbs, they are a support and security to one another,—the prerogative a cover and defense to the liberties of the people, and the people, enabled by their liberty to be a foundation for the prerogative. If the prerogative of the king overwhelm the people it will be turned into tyranny. If liberty undermine the prerogative it will grow into anarchy." It would be difficult to put more effectively the principles by which the British have succeeded in using both cultures to support each other, instead of allowing each to go on in the attempt to destroy the other. It shows

the danger resulting when either system exists alone. The king will use the culture of awe to strip the people of their resources for his own benefit, which is tyranny; the people, with nothing but the culture of will, will split up into strong-willed minorities which will break all the laws of the majority and attack each other,—which is anarchy. The king's authority should be so checked that it acts merely to enforce just laws, and to prevent the people from injuring one another in their development of free will. It thus becomes a "cover and defense to the liberties of the people" and holds them in unity. The people on their side should choose a king and stand by him and thus make a "foundation for his prerogative" in their culture of free will. It was sad that no one at that time could understand this principle, so wonderfully and ably enunciated, since it defined for all time the function of the two great emotional cultures, and so adjusted them that they would make for unity and progress.

King Charles derived his kingly prerogative from divine right, and continued to assert it against the will of the people, until he lost his head and destroyed the monarchy for a time. The people kept asserting their free will without restraint; until they split into so many antagonistic minorities that all their energies were consumed in fighting one another, and they would do nothing constructive. Cromwell tried Parliament after Parliament in the vain hope that they would unite, and each time was compelled to dissolve them before they should destroy what was left of the government. He even tried picking a Parliament of men of similar opinions, but they proved the most incapable and subversive of all, and he was finally obliged to introduce a military despotism of the old patriarchal type to save England from complete anarchy. Monk tried once more the calling of Parliaments, and at last in utter despair at the failure of their bitter minorities to achieve any unity of will, he called the king back. He did this without any attempt to fix clearly the limits of the two cultures and the whole battle had to be fought over again, until at last the

principles enunciated by Pym were successfully embodied in law.

The Revolution would have been impossible if a fundamental change had not been introduced in the religious culture of England. The Churches of Rome and of England were essentially patriarchal in their cultivation of awe for authority and of reverence for the head of the organization. The Puritans were fundamentally fratriarchal in cultivating respect for the inspiration of the individual. The Puritans have been thought narrow-minded in their opposition to ceremonial and splendor of clothing. But it is evident that this was an essential in their system. The old culture of awe was maintained by magnificence of costume and stately ceremonial, and this was necessary for them to destroy if they were to succeed. They broke down the old unifying patriarchal culture, to such an extent that they dared to defy the king and the bishops. Then, however, they found it was impossible to unite the wills of the people in any one movement. Each group,—the Presbyterian, the Independent, the Anabaptist, the Leveller, and the rest,—thought itself the one source of inspiration and that all others were of the evil one, and these divergent cultures of will made any unity in state matters impossible, since each was seeking to control the state. It became evident that the will of a majority group can be as tyrannous toward minority groups as the will of the king will be toward the people.

The old Anglo Saxon system failed, and ended in kingship, because of an inadequate method of representation. The government of the Revolution failed because a dozen varying religious groups of the fratriarchal type developed such powerful antagonistic emotional forces that the state could hold together only by a new despotism.

6. A PATRIARCHAL GOD AND A FRATRIARCHAL STATE

One interesting thing to note is that it was emotional culture rather than theological creed that was the determining

factor in the religious groups. The Church of England believed in the Arminian doctrine of Free Will and yet cultivated subjection to authority. The Presbyterians and Independents believed in Predestination and complete subjection to divine authority,—and yet cultivated free will, though it was disguised as divine guidance. The emotional culture, not the thought, was the important thing so far as national unity was concerned. The Assembly where every man was dressed like his fellow with free expression of feeling and opinion about God or king, developed the fratriarchal type. The ceremonial and the splendid costumes, the solemn music and pageantry produced the patriarchal type, as it still does to-day.

Very unfortunate results emanated from the retention of this patriarchal idea of God in the culture of the Puritans. The Quakers were more consistent in that they sought to replace this emotion of the fear of the Lord with that of brotherly love which, as before noted, was the method of Christ, and which is the ideal method in a fratriarchal community. The Roman Church maintained strongly the patriarchal idea of God. It was by the fear of the Lord that they held men to duty. God was so terrible in His Holiness, so stern in His justice, that no man dared approach Him. The Church, therefore, arranged a system of access to Him through kindly saints, who understood the foibles of human nature and sympathized with their daily lives.

The Puritans swept this system away, without changing the idea of God behind it. They sought to cultivate the sense that they were always in the divine presence, as the chief means of holding men to the obedience to law essential to unity. But they had all been brought up in the old Patriarchal culture of reverence which taught men in the presence of supreme authority to be solemn and serious and humble, as laughter and amusement broke in upon the essential emotion.

Now that they believed no more in priests and saints and ceremonials, and insisted that men stood always in the presence of God Himself, they felt they must cultivate at all

times the attitude of reverence which the Catholics only assumed at the Mass. This meant that they must maintain a solemn demeanor and never indulge in ribaldry or amusements that would break in upon the atmosphere of reverence in which they must live. Such amusements were no detriment to the Catholic culture of reverence since the Catholic only approached God through certain ceremonials, and relied on the saints to interpret his acts at other times.

The culture of the sense of the constant presence of an offended God certainly produced high moral standards and respect for the laws of God, but it tended to create an artificial type of character, formed through constant repression by fear and awe, rather than through the drive of love and free will, so that although in their governmental forms they were fratriarchal, in their religion and morals they were even more patriarchal than the Roman Church, which introduced God to the people through the medium of friendly saints.

When the government was in the hands of the Puritans and it was necessary to be known as a "godly man" to secure preferment, there were naturally many who imitated the externals of this culture without any inward sense of its meaning. The Puritans, therefore, not only made themselves disliked by their interference with popular amusements, but also won a reputation for hypocrisy.

7. THE DISASTROUS EFFECT OF CONFLICTING CULTURES

When the king returned the general dislike for the Puritans expressed itself in a violent reaction against them. Laws were passed forbidding their meetings, two thousand ministers who would not renounce their beliefs were put out of their livings and left to starve. Those who were found taking part in any other worship than that of the Church of England were imprisoned for three months. For the third offense, they were transported as slaves and made to work under the barbarous cruelty of the plantation overseers.

Unity of religion according to the dictates of the king and the Church of England was made compulsory. Clarendon and the Royalists thus sought once more to establish the old tyranny culture. The king, however, did not understand the essentials of the system. He did not favor the measures for religious uniformity as he himself was secretly a Roman Catholic and wished to give liberty to that religion. Instead of using the Church of England to cultivate reverence for the throne, he treated the clergy with contempt and ridicule. After the mismanagement of the Puritans and the despotism of the army, a majority of the people might have welcomed the old culture of tyranny, had it been presented by a king of the right type. But Charles II utterly lacked the forceful character of Henry VIII. He had none of the brusque dominance of the Tudors, who, at least, made plain what they wanted and where they stood. Charles was weak, profligate, treacherous, lazy, anxious for nothing but the securement of ease and the means of self-indulgence. He forced his vulgar mistresses upon the queen in spite of her tears and despair. He lavished all the resources of the people on silly women and foppish favorites. The nobles of England, the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton and Monmouth, the Earl of Northumberland, and many others, were all known to be the illegitimate children of the king by these worthless women. He made treaties with the Dutch and at the same time made secret agreements with Louis XIV against them. His greatest infamy was that he actually accepted regular pay from the French king to act in the interests of France. Such a king inevitably lost all the respect of his subjects. The great democratic movement among the people went on underneath, and the splendor of the court was a mere froth on the surface, and no longer a vital culture that developed devotion for the king. At every chance the people insisted on their rights. The time had gone by when they would shift their religion with the king. They feared and hated the Roman Catholic Church as a means of foreign control upon their government and liberties, and the king had all his life to hide his

belief in it or lose his throne. At his death he returned secretly to the bosom of that Church which seems to have been the only thing in the world for which he had reverence.

The career of James II illustrates the fate of the man, no matter how firm and determined he may be, who attempts to play ducks and drakes with the great emotional cultures of a nation. There were three such cultures in the country at the time. The fratriarchal Puritan culture opposed the tyranny of the Stuart dynasty and accepted the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles, as its leader. The national culture of the Church and throne was so strong that by its aid, James found no trouble in overthrowing Monmouth. He then proceeded with the assistance of that sadistic pervert, Judge Jeffries, to extirpate all of the Puritan party whom he could seize, in the good old fashion of bluff King Hal. Men were drawn and quartered until the executioners waded in blood. Kind-hearted women who had done no more than give shelter to some supporter of Monmouth were burned at the stake. Needless torture was applied with fiendish cruelty. All this was the familiar national culture of the throne prepared by Henry VIII and supported by the Church. The greatest Anglican doctors of that age had maintained that no breach of law or contract, no excuse of cruelty, rapacity or licentiousness on the part of a rightful king could justify his people in withstanding him by force. Macaulay says that some clergymen actually taught that as Nero was on the throne when St. Paul inculcated the duty of obeying magistrates, it followed that if an English king, like Nero, without any law but his pleasure, chose to fling his subjects to the lions in the tower, or to burn them as flaming torches to light his park, they were bound meekly to submit. Strange to say the age-long culture had made a vast number of the people feel in this way toward the king. If James had stood by this background prepared for him, he might have been another of the great English kings. No folly could have been greater than to attempt suddenly to shift to another opposing culture. What was possible in the Tudor days was

no longer practicable. Since that time the people had been trained to feel that the Roman Church was the enemy of their national life. They were taught that it had branded their favorite queen as a usurper and bastard; that it had sent the Spanish Armada against them, and that it had sought to blow up their king in the "Gunpowder Plot." They had been so trained in a culture of fear and horror toward that Church that when James proposed to relax the laws enforcing religious uniformity, even the Puritans who had suffered so cruelly by these laws stood against the repeal lest the Roman Church should thus be enabled to get a foothold in the land. It was this Church that James in his folly attempted to re-establish. At once there began the terrible emotional confusion which resulted in his overthrow. The people were loyal to him as the representative of the throne; they were bitterly opposed to him as the representative of that Church which they regarded as the enemy of the throne and the nation as well. He thus turned the culture designed to support him against himself, and by attempting to force his will, precipitated his fall. He undoubtedly believed implicitly in the divine right of kings and felt that the people must obey him whatever he commanded. He utterly failed to perceive that the king's will is supreme with the right emotional culture behind it, but if that culture is interefered with his will is nothing.

8. THE FINAL ADJUSTMENT

The result of this confusion of cultures was that William and Mary were called over from Holland, and James was cast out. Now at last it was possible to define the relation between the two great cultures that had fought so long for supremacy. The Declaration of Right went back in history to prove by firm precedent the superiority of the fraternal principle in British government. The king's will was not the source of all law, nor could he defy and disregard the laws of the people. In every issue the king was subject to the laws. His authority was given to him only to enforce the laws, never to overthrow them. England thus

turned back to the old Anglo-Saxon idea of the king as one chosen by the people to carry out the laws. The law, from this standpoint, was something supreme, above both king and people. It was not yet clearly recognized that the law was the expression of the will of the people, and that the Declaration of Rights virtually established that will at last as supreme, and made the king merely its servant. It was a stupendous change from the point of view of the Tudors and Stuarts, and it seems incredible that so great a revolution could have occurred so quietly. It certainly could not have succeeded had the fratriarchal culture not been working like a ferment underneath, ever since its disastrous failure at Cromwell's death.

Thus at length the old Anglo-Saxon system was embodied in a definite constitution, and the function of the king was so clearly defined that a return to patriarchal tyranny was made impossible so long as the constitution endured. Law was at last supreme, and recognized as distinct from the king's will. The rights of the people were acknowledged and chief among them the fundamental right to dispose of their own resources in accordance with their own will,—in other words the right to be taxed only with their own consent. This was recognized as so vital that the watchword of fratriarchal government became "No Taxation without Representation." It was to take another century to determine what "Representation" meant, and what was really involved in this principle. At first it was considered that it meant merely the consent of Parliament, who were supposed to represent the people, although there were rotten boroughs whose delegates certainly did not represent them, and large cities that did not have a single representative. England was to learn only through the protests of her American colonies and through the loss of a large part of her empire, that this principle meant that each free citizen must have some one whom he has chosen to represent him in government and to direct the use of the common funds, before any of his resources may be taken by the government.

The real problem was to make every man feel that he was a part of the government and vitally interested in contributing to all its enterprises. Thus only could the forward drive of the fratriarchal system of unification be secured. By perfecting the system of representation England has at last secured this. By preserving the kingship she has retained the old culture of reverence for authority, now applied no longer to make the people submit to the will of a tyrant, but to compel the submission of rebellious individuals and criminals, and also of disaffected minorities, to the will of the majority which is the law of the land. England thus avoids, on the one hand, the eternal peril of the patriarchal system, which is tyranny, and on the other the constant danger of the fratriarchal culture, which is the development of rebellious minorities, or anarchy.

It may be that the republic of to-day will find it increasingly difficult to deal with the growing disrespect of the law, and the turbulent minorities which defy it, and that they will be obliged to take up again the carefully balanced system of the British. This certainly will prove true unless republican government can develop some new emotional culture which will hold discontented minorities in obedience to the law, as effectively as the old patriarchal culture of reverence.

9. THE EMOTIONAL VALUE OF THE KINGSHIP

In the days of Charles II, a ribald courtier wrote on the door of the king's bedchamber the well-known verse:—

“Here lies our sovereign Lord, the King,
Whose word no man relies on;
He never says a foolish thing,
And never does a wise one.”

To which the king made the famous response that it was quite true, since his words were his own, while his acts were those of his ministers. This is even more true to-day. The king cannot make a single law, yet every statute is en-

acted: "by the King's most excellent Majesty." He cannot appoint any of the high officers of the realm, yet they are all appointed in his name. His will has no influence on any bill of parliament yet no bill can be passed until an official has proclaimed: "*Le Roy le veult*," as in the old days. The prime minister and the cabinet shape the national policy and propose most of the laws to Parliament, but all that they or the nation do is done by "His Majesty the King." There is no law or constitution that authorizes or even mentions the prime minister and the cabinet. The king supposedly selects the prime minister, but in reality he has no choice. He must select the leader of the party in power, and when thus selected the prime minister chooses his cabinet. He and the cabinet are simply the executive or administrative organs of the majority party in Parliament. When their measures are not supported by Parliament they resign. The whole power and responsibility of government is thus with the majority party. If it cannot carry out the measures it proposes it must hand over the government to others. While it is supported by a majority vote the cabinet controls the government of England, yet everything it does is said to be done by the king. Is this a mere absurdity and anachronism, a meaningless survival of past tradition?

It has been the aim of these pages to show the importance to government of an emotional culture, and in this system of the British is found a most significant illustration of this principle. The culture of the national sense of unity from time immemorial has centred in the king or priest, and in the ritual which presented him as the representative of the national God. By their allegiance to him the nation was held together. It has been shown how the king of England became head of the church as well as of the state, and how all this culture was made to centre in him. Moreover it has been shown that the laws were enforced by means of the reverence cultivated for the king, who was their author, and "the fount of justice and honor."

It has also been explained that men early began by means of symbolism to differentiate the man from the office, so

that when the king died, the power and authority of the crown remained. The British have taken a farther step. They have taken all power from the king but the crown still rules. Reference was made to the custom of the early Japanese, who placed the crown of the Mikado upon the throne for an hour each day to maintain the unity and prosperity of the nation. It is precisely this that the British have done. All administrative and legislative power has been taken from the king and given to the parliament and cabinet. But the emotional power of the king remains unimpaired. He is still the centre of the culture of national unity and of reverence for authority and for law. Hence every law is enacted in his name and every official represents him as he represents the God of the nation and the nation itself. In cases where the king cannot sign a decree, as in an emergency that requires the appointment of a regent, Parliament has the right to sign his name to the decree. If the crown is on the throne, that is all that is necessary. Experience has proved that it is better for the nation that the crown should merely rule and allow others to think and act. The cabinet holds the power of the crown but permits the king to wear the symbol.

It seems incredible that such a system should actually exist and work, but that it does so no one can doubt who has observed the respect manifested throughout the British dominion toward any official who enforces the law "in the king's name," and who has noted how personal allegiance to the king binds together the people of those farflung dominions on which the sun never sets.

It is little short of a miracle that with the astonishing progress in democracy in England during the last century, the emotional power of the crown should have remained unimpaired. Prior to 1832 the suffrage was open to only one in fifty of the population. Now the franchise is held by one in three. Even the peerage has become democratic since all children of a peer but the oldest son become commoners, and commoners are continually raised to the peerage for service rendered the nation. There is probably no other

government in the world that relies so little on definite statutes and so much upon emotional forces. Technically the king has power to appoint any officer or make any law but there is no chance that he will use this power. The Commons have no constitution to check them from changing the entire government any day that they may wish to do so. They are constrained only by the power of public opinion and a sense of justice and of the fitness of things. And the whole nation is held together and its laws are enforced by a feeling of reverence for a man who is known by all to have no real power or authority save that of this feeling which he inspires in them. It is one of the significant facts of the age that a government so based on emotion should prove itself the most stable and efficient government in the world of to-day.

CHAPTER III

THE MUTUAL AGREEMENT AS A BASIS OF UNITY

I. CLASSIFICATION OF GROUPS

IN order to understand the modern democratic nation, it is necessary to turn back once more and consider certain other of the smaller groups which were formed within the various nations and by means of which were developed the ideas and the emotional culture which ultimately took root on the American shore and formed the basis of the American Commonwealth.

Three hundred years ago every government in Europe with the exception of Holland and Switzerland was so strongly patriarchal as to be practically an autocracy. Yet in them all there were democratic influences at work. Aside from the national governments there were everywhere springing up groups which were organized on a more or less democratic basis and which were destined greatly to influence our civilization. These groups varied in every possible way, as to their membership, their purposes and their rules. Some were democratic in one respect, and patriarchal in others. Some were exclusive and some open to all, but there are certain lines upon which they may be classified. If the agreement was one in which all members promised allegiance to some one man, as in the feudal system, the group was then patriarchal. If it was an agreement for mutual aid between equals, it was then fraternal. If their membership was open to all who were willing to assent to their agreement, we shall term them democratic. If they required a certain degree of attainment or achievement, or character, before admitting a candidate we shall term them aristocratic. If they started with one degree of attainment and graduated into a higher one we shall term them pro-

gressive. If they were limited by some other reason than attainment or character, as by some requirement of birth or rank or race we shall call them limited or oligarchic groups. Aside from the question of membership is that of the purpose of the group and the way in which it is directed and governed. This may be done in an autocratic patriarchal fashion or by a limited group of its members, or finally by purely democratic methods. In the third place its laws or rules may be unalterable and patriarchal or subject to change and democratic. In brief each phase of the triple basis of any group may be either patriarchal or fratriarchal. Finally in relation to other groups a group may be amalgamable or federable, or it may be exclusive in the sense that it will tolerate no relationship with any other group, or finally it may be monopolistic, in the sense that it regards itself as the only possible group. Such a group will consider no other type of unity than one achieved by compelling all men to accept its agreement and join its membership. These various features are usually necessary consequences of the primary basis of each group. Some for example are essentially patriarchal and monopolistic like the Roman Church and probably could not exist in any other form without losing their character entirely. The Protestant Churches which are monopolistic in character have little excuse for this attitude since they are fratriarchal in form and the monopolistic attitude is not essential to their character and is rather a detriment than a help to their progress.

2. THE MONASTIC ORDERS

It has already been stated that the early church was peculiar in the ancient world since it was perhaps the first group of this new type which is based on an agreement or promise. Any man could join it who was willing to promise loyalty to Christ and profess faith in Him. In the middle ages other requirements appeared. The candidate must partake of the sacraments of the church and must assent to a certain formula of belief. But it was usually assumed

that any child born and baptized of Christian parents belonged to the church, and he had only to conform to its usages and obey its commands. The idea of membership by agreement gave way gradually to that of membership by birth, so that Christendom became a sort of supnation, into whose rights and privileges men were born. The idea of a unity by agreement reappeared, however, and was used by the church to form groups of a new character, which had a great influence in the world. Civilization owes a great debt to the church for inventing and developing this type of group, which has proved of increasing value in organizing men on many other lines beside those of religion. The church discovered that men could be bound together by a mere agreement into a group which could develop a stronger sense of unity than that resulting from actual physical relationship. The Teutonic tribes had discovered that men could be united in groups by agreement for purposes of warfare, but this union was only temporary. It was the church that first developed the *permanent* group constituted by agreement. This agreement might be an oath to live a certain kind of life, or to follow a certain purpose, or to enforce a certain standard. It might be a very simple promise or one involving a minute regulation of the whole of life. Whatever the agreement it was essential to create a powerful emotional culture which would develop a common devotion or enthusiasm which all shared and in which their thoughts and desires were fused. They thus come to feel that they were all part of the same life in a truer sense than if they were merely born of the same stock. Artificial brotherhoods by agreement had been created by the Greeks for certain purposes, such as the Stoics or Pythagoreans, or those associated with the Orphic or Eleusinian mysteries. But the church first made this type of unity a matter of world-wide importance and of permanent organization. The first groups thus organized were the monastic orders. Any one might join these who was willing to take and keep his vows, but no one could enter who would not take the oath. They were an elaboration of the old idea of the priest-

hood, and an effort to set apart a group which should acquire special spiritual power. They held that the world was full of evil influences and forces, and that in order to acquire special spiritual power or mana which would avail to save one's soul, and that of others also, it was necessary to keep apart from the life of the world and from the pursuit of wealth and honor, and especially from women who, in antiquity, were frequently considered a source of miasma. The early church had taught that the world would soon come to an end, and that Christians should separate themselves from it and interest themselves only in the life to come, and these groups were an expression of that feeling. Christ had taught humility and poverty and self-denial as forms through which brotherly love and service would naturally express themselves, but the church gave to self-abnegation and poverty and self-torture a value in themselves, and considered them as essential to holiness. Certain men in the church early gave themselves to the pursuit of a holiness of this type, and retired to the desert as hermits. Later they organized themselves into groups or brotherhoods for the same purpose. The basis of this artificial family was a solemn vow broken only by death, which bound them to one another, and pledged them to renunciation of the world. The Franciscans, for example, by the three knots in their rope girdle, indicated that they had taken the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and had solemnly covenanted to have "no money, no wife, and no will." In addition, each of the orders had a special object or purpose. The Benedictines gave themselves to work in cultivation of the soil, the Dominicans to scholarship and the confutation of heretics, the Franciscans to the spread of brotherly love, and the Jesuits to missionary labor. Each order was absolutely patriarchal in its obedience to the Superior and all were subject to the general culture and organization of the church. In addition to this, the special purpose and laws of each order were defined in the oath which each member took on entering its ranks.

Here then were several large groups of men whose whole

energy was given to cultivating a life of kindness and humility and self-denial, in a world of cruelty and lust and selfishness, where the only law was that might makes right. Although their idea of holiness was artificial and apart from real life and from the true culture of brotherly love which the world needed, it did modify the intense individualism of the age which expressed itself in ferocity, greed, and lust, and made all unity impossible.

3. THE SENSE OF HONOR AND CHIVALRY

If we analyze the monastic groups, we find that the idea on which this unity was based was the oath or agreement which defined their purpose and laws. Although this membership was democratic their government was absolutely patriarchal and involved complete submission to their leader. Their coherence depended entirely upon the oath or agreement, and that would have been of little value had it not been upheld by very powerful emotions. Originally it was undoubtedly the feeling of horror at breaking a taboo that kept priests and monks from breaking their vows, just as it had kept the vestals true to theirs. They felt that such a violation turned them over to the power of malignant demons. But in connection with this primitive emotion there developed another which was to become the chief motive force in the unification processes of the middle ages. We term this new emotion the sense of honor. It had existed in the ancient world, and there are certain heroes who were widely famous, because they had kept an agreement when no penalty could have been exacted for breaking it. The most notable case was that of Regulus who returned to Carthage to be tortured to death merely because he had given his word to do so. But these were isolated instances, and even when it appeared the sense of honor was more an individual matter than a means of social construction. There was perhaps some such feeling in the Teutonic comitatus, but with them the desire for plunder was the chief unifying emotion, and when that failed the agreement usually was broken.

It was by means of a new type of group, a strange combination of the comitatus and the church brotherhood that the idea of the unity by common agreement became fully effective. What was needed in the chaos of the middle ages with its warring tribes and feuds, and robber chieftains, was a unifying force which was not tribal or national but universal, and which would supply the place of government in enforcing justice and maintaining order,—in short a sort of international police. The monastic brotherhoods had value in introducing a universal standard of righteousness and a sense of unity in the world, but they were too far removed from normal life, their standard, although it counteracted the brutality of the age, was artificial and impossible for the common man, and the monks had no means of forcing it upon the world. It was the institution of knight-hood that finally met the needs of the occasion. The basis on which this group was constituted was something quite new in the world. Like the monastic orders it was based on an oath or agreement but it also involved a certain character and achievement. A candidate must have met successfully some test of his courage and endurance. When he was deemed worthy, a ceremonial of consecration was provided, similar to that by which the priesthood was set apart from the world for special service and made an agent of divine power. The young candidates kept vigil all night in some church, they were bathed and clad in a robe of scarlet or white. Then they were brought before some distinguished member of the order and took the oath to be loyal to God and the king, to rescue the oppressed, to help the weak, to defend women in distress, to maintain justice, and to keep their honor untarnished. They were then given the insignia of the order, the sword and shield and spurs, and the presiding knight struck each candidate with the flat of his sword, and thus dubbed him knight.

The emotion which made this whole system effective so that it became the chief unifying and civilizing force in the world, centred in the idea of honor. This idea was a very extraordinary one, but none the less effective for that.

It was held that each man had his honor as a sort of spiritual possession, much as he had his soul. If he broke his word or played the coward his honor was lost or tarnished just as he lost his soul by certain criminal acts. The difference was mainly that if he lost his soul he was given over to the power of evil demons, while if he lost his honor he became an object of such contempt to his fellow men that most knights preferred death to dishonor. The emotion by which honor was maintained was, therefore, a combination of the old horror at breaking a taboo, together with the social emotions,—fear of contempt and shame. There was thus built up about the idea of honor a very powerful emotional fringe, and it is this we have termed the sense of honor. The practices of chivalry formed a culture for it which developed it to absurd lengths. A man's honor was so delicate a thing that if any one whispered that he had broken his word or shown the white feather, his honor was tarnished until the stain was wiped out in blood. It was apparently necessary to exaggerate the idea if it was to be effective. The only hope of establishing unity and justice in a disorganized world where right was might, was in this group of strong men who voluntarily bound themselves to use their might only for right, and who were held to their oath and standard by no compulsion save this emotion of the sense of honor, which was developed by their order with the powerful culture of the church behind it.

It was this which gave stability to the feudal system. When the knight had done homage to his lord in solemn ceremonial, by kneeling before him and putting his hands between the hands of the baron, he could not break that oath without losing his honor. Thus retainer was bound to knight, and knight to baron, and baron to count, and count to king in an ascending scale of allegiance, and a social unity was created which hung together by virtue of this sense of honor. As already stated the people had very little sense of unity with one another and the whole social fabric cohered through this system of allegiance which bound each man to his lord by his oath and his sense of honor. It was

through this network of agreements and pledges that social order returned to the world and the authority of the king was gradually re-established so that once more it was possible for a nation to carry out a common purpose and to be ruled by a common law. Save in the case of such orders as the Templars, or Knights of Malta, the knights remained unorganized as a brotherhood and gave their allegiance where they chose. They were everywhere of assistance in supporting justice and Christian standards, but their chief value was in the culture of the sense of honor which they maintained. The code which united them is usually called chivalry. It was supported by the culture of the church which created through its ceremonials a feeling of reverence for the code of the knights and a horror of its transgression. In addition the church aided the spirit of chivalry by introducing a new type of devotion. The centre of this culture was the worship of the Virgin Mary. Although she was always depicted as a mother, yet motherhood was not at all the central idea in this cultus as in the mother worship of the old religions. The mother element was only a small part of the worship of the Virgin. This became rather an adoration of refined and cultured femininity. Keyserling speaks of it as the worship of the "Grande Dame." Whether this characterization is justified or not, the virgin worship certainly produced a great change in the attitude toward women. Among the northern barbarians sex feeling had often been a cause of brutality and degradation and had created feuds and disunion. Through this worship of the Virgin the emotions of sex were given a new direction. They were spiritualized and ennobled and finally developed into a cultus in which the lady was idealized and worshipped in rites and ceremonials practiced by knight and troubadour. This was carried to absurd and artificial lengths in the end, but it undoubtedly had a great civilizing influence in so brutal and barbaric an age. The devotion of the knight to his sovereign lady, the spotless Queen of Heaven, was a powerful factor among the emotions that kept his sense of honor untarnished. The

importance of the change produced by this emotional culture of the middle ages can hardly be overestimated. In the ancient world groups were held together and law was enforced by repressive emotions such as fear and reverence which were used to support authority. Chivalry developed emotions which united men without the necessity of authority on the basis of devotion to an ideal. It cultivated feelings which made their agreements and oaths of unity binding without the old threat of miasma. In other words it was a culture which enabled men who were strong and independent to form lasting unities without external compulsion. In short it supplied the psychology of a self-determined union. Although many of its features were soon lost in the return wave of patriarchal rule, it left mankind with emotions and methods adopted to the needs of a later age.

4. THE REFORMATION AND THE PROTESTANT GROUPS

We have spoken of the creation of the monastic orders. These were all sub-groups contained in the unity of the church. They were subject to the pope and accepted all the credal and sacramental requirements of the church and enforced its laws as well as their own code. The Reformation by its rejection of the supreme authority of the pope broke up the unity of the church and made possible the formation of an infinite variety of independent churches. It has already been shown how the divisions of the church had split up the world unity of the Roman Empire and how unification had been once more achieved by adopting the plan of a supreme pontiff. This was an essentially patriarchal solution and one designed for a world of autocratic governments. As fratriarchal ideas gained in power it was natural that some form of religion adapted to them should be developed. The Roman Church suppressed all the essentials of democracy such as individual thought and initiative, and taught blind submission to authority. It justified its position by the results it achieved. It has been shown that civilization could hardly have been reconstructed without the

unity of the church and the supremacy of the pope. The church formed a final court of appeal which, like the League of Nations, arbitrated many disputes between nations and called kings to account for unjust and criminal acts with the power of an emotional culture behind it which the League does not possess. It had created a sense of unity throughout Christendom, and a universal sense of honor, so that even in warfare there were certain agreements and rules that were kept. Each government accepted the church as the organ of its national religion and as an essential part of the state since it provided the emotional culture of reverence for authority which kept kings on their thrones and formed the background for the sense of unity which held the nation together. To attack such a system was to run the risk of again overthrowing civilization. This result was nearly accomplished in the disastrous period of the Thirty Years' War, when Europe was decimated by religious wars and persecutions. The final result after two centuries of bloodshed was a separation between the Protestant and Catholic powers, between whom existed at best an armed neutrality, while each to secure its national unity, persecuted, and sought to extirpate, the adherents of the contrary faith. France lost a most valuable section of her population by persecution and banishment, and we have already noted the disastrous effects in England of the division between Catholics and Protestants. The cause was by no means an unreasoning intolerance. No means had yet been discovered of preserving national unity when the inhabitants were divided in religion, for if there were two religions it meant that the national sense of unity must be divided. One of these religions must be extirpated or the nation would be wrecked.

There are those who doubt whether the gain to the world from the Reformation was sufficiently great to make up for the disaster that resulted from disunion. Looking back upon it now, it seems as though the change must have come inevitably for fratriarchal government required a religion adapted to it. The motive of the reformers was not politi-

cal, however, but moral. The Roman Church had identified itself too far with the old idea of evil as a material infection which could be removed by certain acts or formulæ, or even by documents called indulgences. Its emotional culture of horror was directed too much against mere infringement of ceremonial forms and not enough against immoral and anti-social acts, and its leaders, though often great statesmen, like Alexander Borgia, were notorious for profligacy and nepotism. As the whole system was supported by the authority of the pope, the reformers set up against the authority of the pontiff that of the individual conscience, and asserted the right of the individual to interpret the word of God for himself. This was a return to the old fratriarchal idea of authority vested in the spirit of God in each individual. Certain patriarchal elements were retained, however, and the combination proved disastrous.

A truly fratriarchal religion which regarded the individual conscience as the source of authority would have returned to the early Christian idea of a fratriarchal God, —a Divine Spirit which spoke in the heart of every man, giving a message adapted to the needs of different individuals, and thus never the same, though always inspiring and revealing new truth. In recognizing a God of this type each group would have been sure of its own inspiration, and would also have admitted that of other groups even when their statements conflicted, since the truth may appear in quite different forms to different individuals, and one man may be saved by quite a different path from that which would lead the next man to his salvation. But the reformers retained a patriarchal conception of God as a monarch seated on a throne, issuing eternal immutable commands to all men, and condemning them to a horrible doom if they varied by a hair's breadth from the path of salvation he had marked out from all eternity. There could be only one such path. All agreed that it was revealed in the Bible, but each group selected different elements as essential. As each was sure that its own statement was right, it followed that all others were wrong. The old emotional culture of mana

and miasma went with this patriarchal idea of God, and any one who did not hold to the one saving belief was regarded with horror as infected with evil and in the power of demons. This was an essential of the patriarchal system which kept men united and true to their code and standard by authority and not by reason, and the new fratriarchal churches had not yet dared to cut free from the method of preserving unity and morals by prejudice, and to rely entirely on reason and conscience.

It is very important to note this fact—that the new churches, ostensibly fratriarchal in their acceptance of the authority of the individual conscience, preserved the patriarchal idea of God and the culture of prejudice, for it was this that split Christendom into fragments, and made each group as monopolistic and prejudiced as the Roman Church, though this attitude was really contrary to their fundamental principles and prevented them from becoming a unifying culture for the fratriarchal nations. Each nation still felt that it must have a religion as a part of the state government in order to provide a unifying emotional culture, and as the sects were hopelessly divided by this monopolistic attitude, each Protestant government chose one of them as its national religion. The German chose the church of Luther, the Swiss that of Zwingli, the Scotch that of Calvin and Knox, and the Dutch that of Arminius, while the English Church remained by itself. These churches in supporting a monarchy, became more and more patriarchal in form; they cultivated reverence for authority and established in some cases a government of bishops. Each government persecuted all other sects than the established church; each sect was seeking to drive out the others and control the government. Each Protestant sect was, therefore, a cause of national division and a menace to civilization so long as it preserved the monopolistic position. In England the Independents and Puritans and Anabaptists and Quakers were persecuted and driven out. The idea that a nation could tolerate another religion than the State Church did not appear until Henry IV secured toleration

for the Protestants in France. This privilege was later recalled by Louis XIV. In England it was not until recently that other sects than the national Church were tolerated. The idea that a nation could exist without a state religion first appeared in the Constitution of the United States, where a complete separation was effected between church and state, and all sects were made equal in position. They still retained their intolerant attitude toward one another, however, and instead of becoming a culture of unification in the nation, served only as a cause of division and friction. In a country where all ideas are supposedly submitted to fratriarchal authority such as that of reason or of conscience or of majority opinion, they still maintain an arbitrary patriarchal authority and the culture of prejudice. The dogmas of a doctor can be submitted to the test of experiment. If he says that antitoxins will save from diphtheria or that a man who eats strawberries three times a day will surely die, it is easy to test the statement to see whether it is true. In science there can be only one final opinion. But if a preacher says that a man who is not baptized or who believes that God is one person and not three is eternally lost, there is no means of determining the truth of his statement, so that there is opportunity for an infinite variety of conflicting beliefs in the realm of religion. And since religious groups cannot appeal to reason and must maintain themselves by the culture of prejudice, such groups naturally have a divisive effect on society.

The characteristics of the Protestant religious groups is, then, that although most of them are fratriarchal in membership and in government, in their teaching and conception of God they are really of the old Patriarchal type and not at all like primitive Christianity. They are monopolistic and preserve their unity by the culture of prejudice, as much as by the appeal to reason.

5. FRATERNITIES

In groups formed by agreement under the influence of the Feudal System or of the Roman Church, the relationship was usually of the patriarchal type. In other words there was no coherence between the members, but the group held together because each member was bound by oath to the head. This relationship is expressed in the term Lordship and was the basis of feudalism. Its cohesive force was therefore vertical, acting between each man and the man directly above him, without reference to the man at his side. Contrasted with this idea of Lordship was the idea of fellowship. This meant the binding together of men of the same degree through an agreement to stand by each other and to render mutual aid. It was therefore a cohesive force that acted horizontally. Just as Lordship constituted an artificial patriarchal family, so fellowship replaced the old fratriarchal group of blood brothers by an artificial fraternity created by agreement or oath. There is some evidence that the Frith guilds and Cniht guilds of the Anglo-Saxons were such groups organized to put down robbery. Patriarchal government, however, was extremely suspicious of any such organization, and Charlemagne forbade any group to be formed on such a plan of mutual agreement. There was a tendency among men to league together to resist the outrages and exactions of the lords and barons, and this if it became general might have meant overturning the feudal system. All such leagues, therefore, were put down with a strong hand. If, however, they were created with a religious purpose and made subject to the church they were then allowed, since they thus became a part of the recognized system and were bound to render allegiance to bishop and pope. Such a fraternity was organized at LePuy in France to resist the depredations of robber barons. It became very powerful and when it was attacked by the authorities, it put itself under the protection of the Virgin and saints and became a religious organization. As

such it spread widely, and a chapter was even organized in London. In many parishes such fraternities sprung up, each under the patronage of some saint, with the ostensible purpose of aiding members in sickness and of providing for masses in case of death. These fraternities became more and more powerful. In France several neighboring villages were often linked together in one fraternity and thus constituted a commune. Each fraternity had its religious rites and ceremonials and pageants, which served as an emotional culture of no small power, and in addition to their charitable functions they soon became the main governing body in the villages. At first each fraternity elected its head, but as the power became centralized in the hands of the king this right was taken away.

In any case the commune won a position of its own in the feudal system. As there could be no recognition of a fratriarchal group, the commune was regarded as a collective seigneurie, or as a lordship held by a group which did homage to the king for its land as did every other lord. The king found these communes of great value in his struggle with the nobles, and assisted in creating many such "villes neuves," as they were often termed. These were independent of any local lord. In France the king assumed control of them by appointing a provost and four burgesses to govern each such town.

In addition there were many free cities in France, England, and Germany, which had preserved the right of self-government from Roman days, or had purchased a charter from the king for money or service rendered. These were usually governed by a council of aldermen, one of which was elected by each ward. Most of them gradually fell under the power of an oligarchy, which controlled the council and mayor.

6. THE GUILDS

In the cities also the fraternities found an important place. Some were parish benevolent associations for mutual aid. But in addition there appeared a group of a different

type, and with a different purpose though it was often disguised under the form of a religious fraternity. In the cities congregated the merchants and the men employed in various crafts. Each craft ordinarily occupied a quarter of its own in the city. The men connected with one craft had many interests in common, and by the time of the thirteenth century the men of nearly every craft in the larger cities had combined on the basis of a mutual agreement, to form a guild. These guilds were very complete fratriarchal groups. Each had its religious culture of unification with certain rites and pageants in which all took part. Nearly every guild had an appropriate saint. In Paris St. Eloi who was a goldsmith was patron of the goldsmiths. St. Crispin the shoemaker was the patron of that guild. St. Bartholomew, who is said to have been flayed, was the guardian of the leather workers. Ordinarily the guild supported a church in honor of its patron. It was in fact a benefit society and raised money to care for the sick and to bury the dead. Its main purpose, however, had to do with the craft. It maintained a standard of workmanship, and examined all products that fell within its domain to see that they met the standard. It created a monopoly of the trade, and fixed prices. No one was allowed to work at the craft save by permission of the craft wardens. To become a master of the craft a boy must first serve as an apprentice for a period of several years. He must be approved by the mayor as a boy of good character. In London the cordwainer's apprentice was obliged to pay 2 shillings to the city, 2 shillings to the poor fund, and 40 shillings to the guild. In addition there were in each craft servants and journeymen who could work at the trade under the direction of a master.

After finishing his apprenticeship and passing a period of testing, a candidate took the solemn oath of the guild to observe its ordinances, and to submit to its penalties, and was threatened with the "great curse" if he ever broke his vow. Then upon payment of 60 shillings he became a master and received the freedom of the city. Most of the guilds

had their own courts or Halimots, where they decided and judged all cases pertaining to the members, and applied the penalty of the whip or of a fine. Each guild had its own hall where it met at stated intervals.

The interests of the different crafts frequently came into conflict. In 1268 A. D. there was a violent battle in the streets of London between the goldsmiths and the tailors in which some 500 participated and in punishment for which twelve men were hanged. The fishmongers were one of the most powerful guilds and frequently came into collision with the others. It was probably to do away with these quarrels that a council was formed of representatives of the guilds. The City of London had obtained a charter from the king which made of it a collective seignury and entitled it to self-government. Originally the government was in the hands of a court of magistrates or aldermen, who represented the landowners on the usual feudal basis. As trade increased in importance it was found that the leading citizens all belonged to some guild, and as dissatisfaction arose with the oligarchic government of the aldermen, this guild council was finally made a part of the government of the city. In this way a much more adequate method of representation was secured. Rome and Athens started with representation by families. This proved harmful as it excluded a large element of the population, and also tended to perpetuate family feuds. The representatives, moreover, were more interested in advancing the prestige of their individual families than in the welfare of the city. Both Rome and Athens therefore changed to a representation by wards. There was little conflict in local interests so that this system tended to produce representatives who were interested chiefly in the welfare of the city at large. Such representation can be carried too far. Where there are groups whose interests clash it is important that each group should be represented in the government so that its claim can be settled by adjustment. This was what happened in the mediæval cities. The most important interests of the community were those of the guilds, and a government in

which these were represented was therefore likely to prove the most satisfactory.

7. THE GREAT COMPANIES

In 1350 there were in London twelve of these guilds which were called the Great Livery Companies, and which were represented in the common council. The grocers, merchants, and fishmongers sent six delegates each, the drapers, goldsmiths, woolmongers, vintners, skinnners, and saddlers sent four delegates each, and two were allotted to the ironmongers. In Paris at that time there were 6 leading guilds and in Florence there were 7. These chief guilds acquired such power that ultimately they gained a charter from the King, which incorporated them, and gave them the right to hold lands, to meet as a fraternity and to make use of a seal. Each thus became a perpetual commonalty which was national in character, since it was derived from the King and not from the city. In addition there was a large number of smaller guilds known as the Lesser Misteries, whose charter was given by the city. Some of these were united in groups with certain of the Great Companies. In London the joiners, painters and lorimers were associated with the saddlers; the dyers, weavers, fullers and shear-men with the drapers. These lesser misteries finally gained representatives on the city council, though they were not recognized as a national institution. In 1337 there were 51 guilds thus represented, and in 1422 the number had increased to 111. There was thus formed a graded aristocracy in trade which repressed the lower grade of workmen or servants and sought to suppress the outside competitors or Hawkers. The Masters formed a class by themselves and under them were the apprentices, journeymen, and servants. The only sure path to citizenship was through apprenticeship to some guild. The Master's degree carried with it the freedom of the city and the right to vote. Each guild was an aristocracy governed by a Master, and his wardens and assistants, who determined its membership

and rules. They were all subject to the Mayor and Aldermen. Parliament borrowed money from these companies and they supplied soldiers in time of war, so that they became an increasing influence in the government.

As noted above, each of the guilds maintained an emotional culture consisting of religious ceremonies in honor of some especial saint. As they were a collective seignury each guild wore a costume or livery, as did the servants of the great Lords. This gained them the title of the Great Livery Companies. The livery was usually of two colors and varied in different years. In London the grocers wore at different times scarlet and green, scarlet and blue, and scarlet and black. Nearly all of them had secret rites, which have always proved one of the most valuable means toward the culture of unifying emotions. They also made use of dramatization and presented their guild mysteries in the form of a pageant. After the victory of Edward I, the Fishmongers held their rites in the church of St. Magnus and then marched through the city in Livery with four gilt sturgeon on horseback, followed by four silver salmon, also mounted, ending with a representation of St. Magnus himself.

The oath was probably on the plan of the Religious Fraternities. The company du Puy was organized "for the honor of God, Madame Saint Mary and the Saints of both sexes, of our Lord the King and all barons, to safeguard loyal friendship, good fellowship, peace, honor and gentleness, and in order that mirth and kindly affection may be duly maintained." Each guild had its feast, where these emotions were cultivated with singing, processions and dancing. Ladies were excluded, as was quaintly said, "in order that the men might learn to honor and cherish them as much in their absence as in their presence." The fraternity of the Holy Trinity stated its object to be "the nourishing of love and charity and the help of him that falleth in poverty." Some of the fraternities maintained chantries where mass was said for members who had died. The Guilds copied these fraternities in their emotional culture and it was on

the basis of this religious culture and purpose that they obtained their charters, as no voluntary organization for economic or political ends was permitted. Although the main purpose of the craft guilds was economic and the religious element was in a way a disguise, the religious side was nevertheless of great value as a culture of the unifying emotions, and it is doubtful if any guild would have held together without it.

In 1376 there was a revolution in London against the dishonesty of the Aldermen. It was conducted by a very able man, John of Northampton, a draper, and the majority of the guilds were with him. He organized a party, and by dividing the guilds in a sort of gerrymander succeeded in securing election as mayor. He made the guild council the dominant feature in City government. The issue was complicated, because he also supported Wyckliffe and the Anti-clerical party with the aid of John of Gaunt and some of the nobles. The fishmongers and grocers were very conservative in their theology. They also wished to gain control of the food supply of the city. They leagued themselves with the guild of St. Anthony and attacked John of Northampton and John of Gaunt. John of Gaunt was surprised at dinner at the Savoy, his palace, and "leapt so hastily from his oysters that he hurt both legs against the bench." John of Northampton was put out from his office and imprisoned, and the system of election by wards was temporarily restored.

Such incidents in history show the growing power of the guild as a social and political force. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the old unification by Lordship had been generally replaced by this system of unification by voluntary association. The number of guilds of London reached its maximum in 1422, and from that time the lesser guilds began to consolidate with the greater. In 1531 sixty guilds were represented at the Lord Mayors' feast and only half of these were incorporated.

This type of organization by employment seems to have developed all over the world simultaneously. In Turkey the

Esnaf, derived from the Byzantine guild, still has great power. In India many of the castes are really craft guilds, and a similar type of organization is one of the chief elements in the social structure of China. Even in New York we are familiar with the "Tong wars," or quarrels of the Chinese Guilds. In many European cities the guilds still retain a powerful political and social influence. In England they were gradually replaced by a different type of organization, which will be considered in the next section.

It is evident therefore that the group organized by mutual agreement under the protection of the church played a great part in the history of the middle ages and formed the foundation on which much of the present social structure is reared. The guild had in it much that is akin to the modern labor union and benefit society, and introduced a form of representation in government which is being seriously considered in many countries to-day. Though democratic in their relationship since they were constituted by an agreement of the horizontal type, these associations were aristocratic in membership, since they required of their candidates a certain degree of attainment and character. Their government also was aristocratic, since it was usually in the hands of a few masters.

They had their own religious culture of unifying emotions, and were also united by the drive of a common purpose. They maintained their own courts of justice and were some of them independent of the regular country courts. Many of the mediæval cities were therefore in reality a federation of self-governing craft guilds.

In addition to the craft guilds there were also Merchant Guilds, which secured charters from the King and thus were able to gain a monopoly of the trade. At the time of the Stuarts in England the King found it increasingly difficult to secure grants of money from parliament, and the chief source of the royal revenue was found in these trading companies. They paid large sums to the King in return for their charters and gave to him a share in their gains, which were large, since the charter gave them a mo-

nopoly. Each company, like the guilds, formed a self-governing group, subject only to the King, who usually appointed the governor of the Company. It was companies such as these that formed most of the early American colonies.

They were regarded not as departments of the regular government, but as business enterprises, and hence more democracy was allowed than was tolerated elsewhere, as it encouraged the initiative essential to success. Groups of this type consisted of those who were willing to bind themselves by an agreement such as the charter of the company, or a promise to contribute a certain sum of money, and accept a certain share of the profits. They were, therefore, groups based on an agreement. It was especially true of these groups that the sense of unity that held the members together was the feeling of confidence which they had in one another, and this was based on a reliance upon the sense of honor of each participant. Though they resembled the monastic orders in consisting of men bound by an agreement, they had, of course, an entirely different purpose. They aimed at material gain instead of overcoming evil, and the emotion which vitalized their purpose was not religious devotion but desire of wealth. Their rules and laws were not like those of the monks and knights, which sought to maintain a certain type of character, but were merely rules of expediency aimed to secure as large profits as possible and to divide them fairly. Some of these companies, such as the British East India Company, or the Dutch West Indies, and East Indies Companies, became as large and as powerful as independent nations. Their membership varied in its requirements. Some were democratic and open to all, others were limited to a certain circle. Their government also varied greatly in accordance with their charters. Some were patriarchal and were ruled by a governor and council appointed by the King. Others selected their own rulers, and made their own laws. They were competitive, but not exclusive or monopolistic, and could be amalgamated with other groups.

8. THE THREE FUNDAMENTALS OF DEMOCRACY

Our civilization is so impregnated with democratic ideas and feelings that it is well-nigh impossible for a man of to-day to imagine the emotional background of a civilization which was created and maintained by autocratic authority. The conception of authority is totally changed, and it is this which has made democracy possible. To us it is self-evident that the authority on which truth must be based is reason, and that the authority which must decide between right and wrong is the enlightened conscience of the individual or the community, and finally that the will of the people is that which gives to government its authority. In former days, however, men believed that authority in government was derived only from God and the King, that right conduct was obedience to the command of God as voiced by priest and king, and that truth consisted of statements divinely revealed and authoritatively promulgated usually in some sacred book, and remained true no matter how much it conflicted with reason. This was not a mere theory. Men felt in the deepest fibres of the soul that to accept any statement as truth which was opposed to the authorized dictum of church and state was a sin so terrible that its perpetrator could be regarded only with horror. A similar emotional attitude existed toward any one who attempted to set his own conscience against the word of the priest or the command of the king in questions of right and wrong. So long as men felt thus democracy was impossible. To transform such an emotional background is not an easy matter.

Emotional attitudes are not developed by isolated individuals. They must be cultivated by groups, which maintain a certain attitude into which others can be drawn and impregnated with the feelings of the group. Elsewhere it is shown how certain groups developed and practised democratic government and how the feeling developed that authority rested with the will of the majority. The democratic attitude toward right and wrong was largely developed from

the groups that sprang from the Reformation and asserted the right of the individual to interpret the word of God and decide questions of right and wrong in the light of his own conscience. There remained the third great question, as to the authority of the Truth. Democracy was impossible so long as men felt everywhere that truth was determined by the dictum of King or Pope, and was entirely independent of human reason. It is most interesting to discover what was the means by which this emotional attitude of mankind was so completely altered that the door to democracy was opened. The groups that could maintain a democratic attitude in the Middle Ages were certainly rare. Most such groups had been ironed out by the heavy hand of the Roman Emperor, and the feudal lord. Men were not allowed to gather in mutual association for political purposes, but we have already noted that they did gather for the purpose of work in the so-called guilds.

It was an organization of the type of the guild which was to supply the emotional and intellectual background in which was to be developed the new idea of the truth, and the new emotional attitude toward it. The organization which accomplished this was to be known as the university. Just as men gathered into guilds to learn and practise their handicrafts, so also they formed groups here and there for the purpose of acquiring knowledge. The old method of education has been that of authority. Knowledge was beaten into boys by tutors or in schools kept by priests or monks. But here was an impulse of a different sort, distinctly fraternal in character. It started with a desire for knowledge on the part of the youths and led them to bind themselves together in the effort to attain it. It was not primarily the implement of authority to stamp upon one the imprint of past tradition, it was a quest on the part of youth for knowledge and truth under the guidance of reason. Something of this sort had existed among the Greeks. The two groups under Plato and Aristotle have given their names of Academy and Lyceum to the educational ventures of all ages. These groups, however, seem due rather to the genius of

the great men that founded them, than to that spontaneous desire of the pupils for knowledge which seems to have founded the Mediæval university.

9. THE UNIVERSITY

Before we trace the growth of the new idea of truth which developed in them, we must note the form of the organization which served as the background in which so revolutionary a doctrine could be developed. As indicated, the university originated in a fratriarchal impulse. At first the university was apparently quite independent and voluntary and organized on the model of the trade guild. Then the danger to autocratic institutions of such centres of free thought was seen, and they were taken over by the church and state. The charters which were issued to authorize them served to bring them under the control of authority to some extent at least. Salerno and Bologna were among the earliest and best known. Here a more specialized and practical education could be obtained than in the monastic schools. They remained fundamentally fratriachal in spirit. They were open to all, they practised self-government, they allowed migration from one school to another. They had no buildings and the teaching was mainly by lectures. They specialized on certain subjects or certain branches of knowledge. They were organized into guilds, each of which had its rector, and they were governed by a deliberative body of the students, known as *consilarii*, with whom the rectors consulted. Some universities, like the trade guilds, wore distinctive gowns or liveries, and received candidates by initiation. Paris became the model for universities which gave Masters' degrees, and Bologna for the ordinary university of students. Oxford followed quite closely the Paris model.

At Bologna the organization was very democratic. Students came in great numbers from other sections of the country and even from other nations. In the Middle Ages every man was supposed to dwell in the household and under the protection of his lord in his native village or city,

and these large groups of unattached young men, who were for the most part strangers and foreigners, created an anomalous situation. Foreigners were regarded with suspicion and often ill-treated. This resulted in the banding together of the youths of similar race for mutual protection into groups or guilds which were termed "Nations." These became so powerful that the masters also formed guilds to counterbalance them. In Bologna by the thirteenth century these nations had blended into two; the Citra- and Ultramontane. At Bologna the Consilarii or governing body was elected by the "Nations" and represented them. Each Nation also elected its rector. The rector of the whole university was elected for a one year term by the Consilarii and general body of students with the advice of the outgoing rector. The Archdeacon of Bologna was the chancellor and gave the degrees. The students had great power and if a doctor wished to be absent for eight days or more, he was obliged to secure their consent. The Pope was recognized as the supreme authority and in case of disputes the final appeal of the students was to him. In the main, however, it seems evident that the university was felt to be an institution organized by the students for their own benefit rather than an arm of the state or church designed to mould the youth in accordance with the commands of the rulers.

The organization of the University of Paris was similar to that of Bologna, save that it was divided into three superior faculties, Theology, Canon law, and Medicine, and one inferior faculty, the Arts, each of which faculties had its dean. The faculty of the arts consisted of four nations or guilds, each under a proctor,—the French nation, the Picard, the Norman and the English. The rector at the head of the Arts finally became the head of the whole university. The university had its system of self-government. The rector presided over the general congregation of the whole community. The vote was taken by faculties and nations. After the seventeenth century this democratic government was transformed into government by an oligarchy of officials,—the rectors, deans and proctors, assembled in tri-

bunal. In the time of Abelard that great teacher attracted many thousands to Paris, and the University of Paris is said to have included some thirty thousands in its membership. The teachers and masters formed a guild which passed on new masters before they were admitted and allowed to teach. In 1170 the Popes recognized the University of Paris as a Corporation, and also allowed its right to modify its constitution at will. They succeeded, however, in so guiding it that it became the centre of orthodox teaching.

Oxford was not important as a centre of learning until the twelfth century. It may have been an outgrowth of the monastic schools, and was probably increased by a migration from Paris when the English students were expelled or recalled by Henry II because of his quarrel with the church. The organization was copied from Paris. The Chancellor, whose power was very great, was probably elected by the Masters and confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln. There were two proctors, one at the head of the North nation and one for the South nation. Apparently there existed a system of indirect election. The Masters and scholars of Oxford were technically under the authority of the Bishop of Lincoln, but practically they were independent of immediate ecclesiastical control. Both Oxford and Cambridge were devoted chiefly to theological teaching.

10. THE AUTHORITY OF REASON

It was in the organized groups of men assembled in the University for the quest of knowledge that was developed the new conception of truth and of authority which was so vitally to transform the world. Their original democratic impulse, however, was very nearly crushed out for a time by autocratic control. The protection of the State was necessary to them and it was given only on condition of obedience. Pupils were compelled to study and accept the system of theology and canon law on which rested the authority of state and church. They were allowed only to interpret, and original investigation was discouraged. Every conclu-

sion was predetermined and reason was made subject to authority. Honorius III forbade the study of medicine and of civil law to monks. Chemistry or alchemy was declared a diabolic art and forbidden in 1317. Any study or argument opposed to the accepted system of theology and the theory of government was declared heresy and any man who followed such studies or held such opinions was liable to torture or death at the stake.

In order to defend the accepted theory, however, arguments were held in which certain of the scholars took the side opposed to orthodoxy. This involved investigation into the basis of accepted beliefs, and stimulated speculation as to alternate theories. Possibly it was through these arguments that the absolute faith in the dicta of authority was shaken, and a new attitude built up which was inclined to accept the conclusions of reason.

At any rate, so early as the ninth century Scotus Erigena had dared to say, "Authority is derived from Reason, not reason from authority, and where the former is not confirmed by the latter, it is valueless." Other great men carried forward the speculative movement. Anselm was perhaps its true founder; Berengar, Roscelin and Abelard brought it to world-wide significance. The church was disarmed before Anselm, since he appeared as its champion and defender. He aimed to interpret its authority and thus to increase its power. He was a sound churchman and it was recognized that he held the faith without question. The moment, however, that men were allowed to argue about authority, and to attempt to base it on reason, a change of attitude was begun which could only end in an authority entirely based on reason. Roscelin went farther than Anselm and attacked established beliefs.

In Abelard the movement reached its full development. He was the true apostle of reason and attacked the doctrines of the church with such power that its authorities forced him to leave Paris. Students followed him to the forest in vast numbers. He had kindled the spark of the new idea and it grew to a conflagration in the minds of the youth

of the day. It took all the energy of the Pope and of St. Bernard to stamp it down. It was a perplexing time for any honest thinker who was a good churchman. Here was the revealed truth of God sanctioned by authority on one side, and on the other the conclusion of man's reason.

In the twelfth century appeared the theory of Double Truth said to be derived from Averroes. It stated that the dogmas of the church, creation, resurrection, miracles, etc., are true from the religious point of view, but are false from the standpoint of reason. It seems hard to believe that any one could have sincerely accepted such a belief, but quite a large school at Paris followed and adopted it, probably because it offered such a convenient solution of their difficulties. In the sixteenth century Montaigne adopted a similar attitude. He professed orthodox Catholicism and yet his essays are distinctly rationalistic, and strike at the roots of dogma. He asserts that there is no bridge between Reason and Religion. Religion is above the power of human reasoning and must be kept apart and accepted without question.

By methods such as these, the new idea of the authority of Reason was kept alive. A special sphere was marked out in which it could exercise itself, while in the realm of religion it was compelled to be silent and recognize a higher authority. Thus in the main the church supported the universities and their learning, seeking always to secure that their teaching furthered the faith. The Popes watched the universities closely for possible heresies and interfered repeatedly at Paris and Oxford to punish or remove individuals, but in spite of this the new attitude gained ground, until at last out of it grew the New Learning, with such men as Bacon, Petrarch, Wickliffe, and Huss as its leaders. The church still sought to discipline and control their thought. Roger Bacon claimed to accept the orthodox belief, but was imprisoned because of his devotion to scientific research. In England after Henry VIII heresies were checked by the King instead of the Pope, and Elizabeth asserted the same power. James I refused to grant degrees to those who did

not accept the Three Articles, and James II expelled certain fellows who refused to accept the president he appointed. It was not until 1871 that all religious tests for admittance to the English Universities were abolished.

Thus through all the centuries the conflict went forward as the agents of the old autocracy sought to capture the university and make of it a manufactory of authorized ideas. But the original impulse kept reasserting itself. The matrix had been created in which were continually forming the fraternal ideas which were to prevail, and these groups of enthusiastic young men created an emotional background of reverence not for any god or king, but for the Truth itself. Thus little by little was created that type of man who gives to the truth and the quest for it the same devotion that the rest of the world was trained to give to its king or its god, and among them grew gradually the conviction that above the command of the gods of ancient tradition was the authority of the Truth as it is revealed to the reason of man, and that the highest duty of man was loyalty to that Truth as it is revealed to his mind.

This conviction, once generally accepted, meant the overthrow of all the systems of government and religion that had existed in the world, for supreme authority was thus transferred from the High Priest or King to the reason of the individual. Such a conception was incompatible with the ancient civilization of patriarchal authority and it became necessary to evolve a new system by which a group of men, each of whom felt in himself the supreme authority of the truth, could govern themselves or be governed. With human nature as it was, this of course seemed impossible, and it was necessary to build up a new emotional nature in men to hold them in unity and to prevent the disintegration of a society whose authority rested no longer in one man and one book, but in the reason and conscience of all.

II. A NATIONAL FRATRIARCHAL GROUP. FEDERATED BROTHERHOODS

It has been explained that a social unit of the true fratriarchal type coheres by the sense of unity which exists between each man and the other individuals of his group, while the patriarchal unit is held together by the sense of unity between each man and his superior. In other words, the fratriarchal relationship is horizontal instead of vertical. This sense of unity could be developed in small groups, but it proved inadequate when it became a question of large numbers and a wide extent of territory. The fratriarchal method of developing and carrying out a common purpose through the assembly also broke down as the State increased in size, and Greece and Rome as well as the Teutonic tribes were obliged to return to patriarchal government. It has been shown how in England a combination of the two systems was effected. The people insisted upon their right to form and carry out their own purposes, but in order to retain their sense of unity and to avoid the anarchy threatened by the parliaments of Cromwell's time, they found it necessary to preserve the forms of the monarchy. They were held together by patriarchal authority, although governed by fratriarchal methods. No nation of any size had succeeded in maintaining its unity by fratriarchal methods alone. There was, however, a possible method of avoiding the difficulties that had wrecked the early democracies. If fratriarchal government proved successful only with small groups, it was possible to create a number of such groups, and then combine them in a sort of federation. Such an experiment was made early in the middle ages in the little country of Switzerland, and by means of it was created the first successful democratic nation. The federation was at first a mutual agreement of the type already described, depending upon an oath and a signed pledge, and made possible by that emotion which we term the sense of honor. It differed from other organizations in that the agreement was made not only between the individuals of

one group, but also between the groups themselves, as members of a federation. This first experiment, which was to point the way to so many modern nations, seems to have been largely the result of chance.

In 853 A. D. the Emperor Louis the German granted some land near Lake Lucerne in the section of Uri to an abbey of which his daughter was abbess, with the understanding that the men on this land should be subject to none of the local counts but only to the empire.

Europe at this time was under the Feudal system. Land was held from the local Lord or Count and was tilled under the direction of his representatives and chiefly for his benefit. Here, however, was a small group over whom was no supervision but that of the Emperor himself, and he, in this case, was too much occupied to think of them. The men themselves, therefore, had to meet and agree about the tilling of their lands and the rules under which they would live.

In Schwytz near by there was another little community of men which, though supposedly subject to the local count, had succeeded in governing itself and ruling the land possessed in common.

The local counts were the famous Hapsburgs, then in the infancy of their power. They considered these communities as an unspeakable annoyance,—a revolutionary anomaly, which it was absurd to tolerate, and did what they could to master them. When the communities appealed against the Hapsburgs, the Emperor Frederick II, being a man of large ideas, gave the men of Schwytz a charter freeing them from the counts and placing them directly under himself. He also ratified the more ancient and similar arrangement of the men of Uri.

But unfortunately for these groups their old enemy the Hapsburg, whose castle they had sacked in a rash moment, was elected Emperor in the person of Rudolph of Hapsburg, and he therefore became their overlord as emperor, if not as count. He promptly proceeded to withdraw their rights. But when a new idea has been created, it is not so

easy to suppress it. It has developed its symbolism and culture and is hard to uproot. The symbol of this new idea was the Great Seal, which was the sign that each community had the right to act in its own name, without the authority of a lord. On the death of Rudolph in 1291 A. D. representatives of Uri and Schwytz, with a few also from a district in Unterwalden, met together and swore assent to the "Everlasting League," which bound them to stand by one another in maintaining their freedom and the authority of their three great seals. The emotional sanction for this bond was the solemn oath, confirmed by the three seals, which already had a potent symbolic background. This little group was the nucleus of the modern nation. It was from this tiny federation of three communities of free men that the idea developed around which the civilization of to-day has crystallized. It is not possible to follow the history of their long struggle with the Hapsburgs. So loose a federation, with no central authority, would certainly have fallen apart but for the constant need to defend their rights against these lords of waxing power. The famous battle of Morgarten where 1,500 of the little league defeated Leopold of Hapsburg with his 20,000 at the Brunig pass, brought them into prominence. Cities who feared the growing power of the Hapsburgs and saw that the league had invented an idea by which autocracy could be resisted, joined with them. Lucerne and Zurich, Glarus and Zug came in during an interregnum in the rule of their feudal superiors. Louis the Bavarian, enemy of the Hapsburgs, confirmed them in their rights, as free subjects of the Empire. In 1320 the Confederation was first recognized as Switzerland, taking its name from the primitive group of free men in Schwytz. Their greatest addition was in 1353 when Bern joined the federation. On the extinction of its line of counts Bern had become an imperial city, and had been strengthened to hold in check the local nobles who were little better than bandits. The citizens of Bern finally subdued completely these enviroing aristocrats, and thus afforded another instance of the power of a group of free men to defy the autocratic idea of the age.

After the battle of Sempach, when Leopold III of Austria was completely defeated in his attempt to subdue the league, other groups came in,—Appenzell and St. Gall and a part of Valais. When the Hapsburgs were put under the ban by the Emperor Sigismund, more of their lands were captured by the league. Bern conquered the section around Lake Geneva from Savoy, and Uri conquered the Ticino lands from the Duke of Milan. Schaffhausen and Neuchatel became allies and associates. The confederation was a complicated system of alliances. Bern for example had its own allies and dependents which were not allied with the other states save through Bern. Each group had its own type of government and its special interests. There was no central government, but only a council of two ambassadors from each state, who had no authority to act.

In 1499 the Confederates renounced their allegiance to the Emperor, and in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 they were recognized by Europe as an independent state, allied with the Empire but not subject. There was still danger that they should be brought back under the autocratic idea so long as they remained subject to the Pope. Zwingli of Zurich saw this and started an agitation for religious freedom. Bern, Constance, Schaffhausen, St. Gall and Basel joined the effort to throw off the Roman rule. For a time it looked as if the little state of free men would be reduced again to subjection, for, through the influence of the Roman religion, Lucerne and Zug were induced to ally themselves with their old autocratic enemies, the Hapsburgs of Austria, against their compatriots, in an effort to reduce them to subjection. Zwingli was killed in a battle between Zurich and Zug. Fortunately, before it was too late, the little states saw the mistake of allowing religion to divide them, and made a treaty by which religious parity was recognized in all the states, and each parish was allowed to choose its religion by majority vote. Later this was modified to allow full rights of worship to minorities in each parish. Once more in 1589 the Roman Church made an effort to control the state through the Borromean league.

Later in the time of Louis XIV they nearly succeeded in putting Switzerland under the control of that Catholic monarch, and thus taking away its political and religious liberty. Such efforts brought a reaction. The majority did not wish to be overrun by foreign armies or to be involved in the religious wars. They kept out of the Thirty Years' War and passed the very wise law that their religious disputes should not be settled by a majority vote but by friendly discussion. By some heaven-sent illumination they had discovered that in matters of conscience or prejudice a majority vote only makes the minority more bitter. Quite a large number who liked the Roman forms but who saw that the domination of Rome would always mean the danger of a return to autocratic rule in politics and religion, founded the Christian Catholic Church, which preserved all the characteristics of the Roman Church but its subjection to the pope.

Another danger still threatened them, that of oligarchic rule. For a time a small group at Bern controlled their government and ruled with such harshness that a way was opened by their discontented subjects for an invasion by the French armies of the revolution. These conquered Bern and established for the first time a central government modelled upon their own. After the French were ejected the government was remodelled on the lines of the representative system of the United States. In the federation are now included people who speak four languages and belong to as many racial stocks. There are three main religions, and the Protestants are divided into Zwinglians and Calvinists. The Swiss worked out the system by which religion, since it could not unify them, would at least not divide them. This was done in spite of the stern efforts of Calvin in Geneva and Zwingli in Zurich to create a monopoly each for his own system of thought, and in spite of a struggle of some centuries in which the Roman Church sought a similar domination. By a gradual enlargement of the idea of a league of brothers banded together to defend their freedom, the Swiss have produced a nation of different races, tongues, religions and interests, bound together by a strong

feeling of patriotism and a deep sense of national solidarity. The final stage by which this idea was made workable, was borrowed from France and from the United States and to understand this, we must turn to our own history.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN METHOD OF UNIFICATION. UNITY BY AGREEMENT AND REPRESENTATION

I. THE BASIS OF UNION IN THE ORIGINAL COLONIES

THE preceding chapters have sought to show how the world was prepared for the modern democracy. To us the democratic national group is such a matter of course that we do not realize how utterly absurd and preposterous the attempt to organize such a group would appear to the High Priest of Amen Ra, or Hammurabi, or Justinian, or Charlemagne, or Peter the Great, or any of the great empire builders of the past. Nor do we understand how wonderful our group would seem to Pericles, or Drusus, or Rienzi, or Cromwell, or to any of the men who tried to make democracy work successfully in a comparatively small group and met with such tragic failures.

It took many centuries of group development before it was discovered that a coherent group could be formed on any other basis than that of blood relationship. We have traced the development of the group formed by mutual agreement from its origins in the Teutonic comitatus and in the fellowship of the early Church and have shown how it persisted even in the face of the strictest autocracies in the form of guilds or orders or companies. Such groups were usually formed for some definite purpose and political groups of that type were not permitted even had there been an attempt to create them.

It cost the Anglo-Saxon race many centuries of experiment before the mechanism could be perfected that made it possible to organize a national democracy which would avoid the fate of those earlier experiments under the lead-

ers of Greece and Rome. It required even a longer period of group culture to develop the new set of emotions that are essential to make operative a group of this type. Even today the majority of men, if they think about it at all, consider that to support democratic government and laws it is only necessary to cultivate the old emotions of reverence and awe just as has always been done by patriarchal governments.

We have seen that there had sprung up a great variety of groups organized on the basis of a mutual agreement, for every variety of purpose,—religious, commercial, intellectual, and social. In Switzerland alone have we found such groups organized for a political purpose. As the Swiss groups were all similar in character, it had proved possible to federate them after a fashion, but this federation no more constituted a real union than did that of the Greek cities. It was in America that the materials supplied by this age long development were gathered up and worked into forms that made possible democratic development on a large scale. In contrast with the Swiss cantons the groups on the American continent were most diverse in character, and that they were able to work out not merely a federation, but an organic union, is one of the great miracles of modern times. Even granting the invention of suitable forms, the supreme difficulty remained,—that of creating any real sense of unity in groups so at variance, and an emotional solidarity that would hold them to the pursuit of a common purpose in obedience to a common law. This was done without the aid of any definite emotional culture such as was employed by the old empire builders. In fact, the old religious cultures instead of being helpful, were found such an impediment that the government renounced them all and decided to proceed without any state religion. The unifying emotions were then either those which were inherent in the character of the people, or those which were aroused by the chance events of the period. Certainly in the history of the world no nation was ever created in this fashion before, and it will be necessary to give some time to the study of

the difficulties in the way, and the extraordinary manner in which they were overcome.

The first point to consider is that our original American colonies were by no means as democratic as the Fourth of July orator would lead us to suppose. A few great minds had seen and proclaimed the fundamental principles of democracy, namely that authority in government was vested in the people and not in the king, that authority in knowledge was founded on reason and not in sacred lore, and that authority in religion and morals was vested in the conscience of the individual and not in any pope or sacred book. These are the three fundamental propositions on which democracy is based and which are certain to overcome any patriarchal government when they are accepted. When adopted they must mean freedom of thought, speech, and action, save as such freedom is voluntarily renounced for the sake of unity.

Now it is quite certain that the average American colonist had not even the haziest notion of these principles, and that if they were presented to him he would have rejected them as absurd and subversive of all law and order. Some of the colonial groups had come from England because the religion which they professed was an emotional culture antagonistic to the state religion of England, and was therefore excluded as divisive and pernicious. They came to find a place where their opinions would not be persecuted, but they had no idea of establishing a government where all opinion should be free. Quite the contrary, in fact. They wanted a place where their own type of unity could be developed in accordance with their own ideas, where they could keep out all ideas that would lower the standard they wished to maintain, where they could exclude all customs that would corrupt the morals of their children, and all influences that would counteract the emotional culture on which their unity and laws were based. It is quite possible that the world would be a happier and a better place if each group had been able thus to maintain itself unmodified by the opinions and customs of others, and to exclude all that

tended to destroy the type of character it wished to develop. There is no reason why a group should not be constituted on the basis of character development and exclude from its borders all who are incapable of understanding or unwilling to realize its ideals. Each of the American colonies was a unity based on an agreement, but these agreements varied widely in character. Some were commercial, some religious, and some political in their purpose. In some the basis of membership was democratic and any might join who would assent to the agreement. In others a certain degree of character or attainment was required before full membership was granted. Others were limited arbitrarily to a special circle. Some were amalgamable with other groups. Some at first were exclusive and monopolistic and would not unite or co-operate with other groups. No group could admit to its membership any one who would not assent to the agreement on which it was based. Nor could any colony admit ideas or teachings or beliefs that were subversive of the principles on which it was grounded, or that were counter to facts on which its unity was based.

The new fratriarchal ideas were adopted in so far as they supported the line of action which the colonists had found expedient in preserving their unity, but no further. Maryland, for instance, adopted the principle of complete religious toleration and began with a law that any one who did not believe in the Trinity and in the Divinity of Christ should be put to death. This was really quite consistent. She wanted tolerance because her colonists were mainly Roman Catholics who were proscribed in England and who never would be allowed to organize an exclusively Catholic colony under British dominion. The only possibility for undisturbed unity for them was a colony which should admit all the Protestant sects. They wisely prevented the beginnings of any emotional schism between these sects by a law which punished by whipping and fine any one who used a religious name in such a way that it had a divisive emotional content,—or, in other words, who called a man a heretic or a Puritan or a Catholic as a term of opprobrium.

Here was shown a real intelligence as to the divisive element in a community. It is not so much what is said and done as the emotional content of the word or deed that makes trouble. The Virginian was right when he said to the man who insulted him, "Smile when you say that." If the word is made to express contempt or prejudice or hate it gathers about it an emotional culture which soon results in two opposing groups. Under these conditions the people of Maryland felt they could preserve unity among all Christians. They felt, however, that they had no emotional culture powerful enough to keep them united if Jews, Mohammedans, and Pagans were admitted, and, therefore, excluded them by the above mentioned edict. They were therefore consistent with their basis of unity in that religious toleration was adopted only so far as it aided in preserving their union.

2. THE DIVERSITY OF THE COLONIES

Having noted that the fundamental necessity for each colony was to preserve the basis upon which its unity was constituted, let us now examine how diverse were the conditions from which unity was built. First, there was the religious basis. The group that landed at Plymouth were all members of one church. It was the emotional culture of that church that had held them together in spite of the cruelest persecution. They had not adopted the general idea of religious freedom. They merely wished to be free to worship as they chose. But to admit Roman Catholics, or even members of other Protestant sects to their body politic, would have wrecked their sense of unity, which was based entirely on their feeling of union in the church. For one who would not join the church or accept the creed which was the basis of their unity, to demand a share in their government was really as absurd as it would be to expect an orchestra to welcome into its membership a man with no ear for music. It will preserve us from unjust criticism if we note that in every group the fundamental thing

is not an abstract principle, but the preservation of the basis of unity on which the group is constituted.

In the second place, there was the unity acquired through a business project. The colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts Bay started as trading enterprises sent over by companies of merchants. They were based on charters given by the king. It is a different matter to keep men united in business than to hold them together in a church. In the latter case different creeds divide them; in the former case, rival companies or unfair privileges divide, and successful business unites. To a trading concern religion was of minor importance. Virginia was open to all the sects save Quakers. No mention of religion was made in the Massachusetts Bay charter. Its government was in accord with its purpose. Although this charter was given at the time that Charles I declared that he would rule without the Parliament, the colonists were allowed to make their own laws in the assembly of the people, and the same was also true of Virginia. This was undoubtedly because the king did not regard them as a government but as a trading enterprise, and therefore to be regulated by the democratic system, familiar in the guilds and in trade and successful because such a fratriarchal system cultivated the forward drive necessary in such projects. When the Massachusetts Bay Colony joined with the Pilgrims, its charter had been transferred from the London Company to the colony itself, and it therefore was able to transform itself from a trading company to an organization with a religious basis sufficiently similar to that of the Plymouth colony to make union possible. A law was then made that no one who was not a member of some one of the local churches should be received as a freeman or have a share in the government. These churches were the means by which was developed and maintained the powerful fratriarchal feeling which expressed itself in the state. No better culture for the fratriarchal spirit could be devised. The first church of the Pilgrims had no pastor, but assembled to discuss a general topic and each spoke as he was moved. Membership in the

state was wisely limited to men who were willing to accept the fundamental beliefs on which its unity was constituted. The reason for this is plain. They could not admit Roman Catholics or Anglicans without opening themselves to the patriarchal culture which threatened the overthrow of their government and of all that for which they most cared. On the other hand they expelled the extreme individualists who refused to join in the culture which preserved their unity and who declared for absolute freedom of conscience. In the case of Roger Williams the reason was probably more political than religious. He declared that the lands of the colonies had been usurped and refused to take the oath of allegiance. He insisted on cutting out from the British Flag the cross, which he considered the emblem of popery. It is difficult to preserve unity with a man of this type who outrages the ideas and emotions on which the union is based.

The colonists were not always wise in the methods they chose to preserve their unity. There was a certain truth in Williams's contention that men should not be forced to go to church, since when they go against their will the emotional culture fails to take hold. They should have limited their franchise to those who *wanted* to go to church, if they were to succeed in their purpose. On the other hand, it seems difficult for a government to obey the words of Roger Williams: "to restrain crime and not control opinion, to punish guilt and not violate the freedom of the soul." This sounds well, but it is opinion that determines what acts are crime, and conscience, unchecked by law, is dangerous. One wonders how Williams would have dealt with the Quaker whose religious conviction led him, like Abraham, to attempt to cut his son's throat, or with the Quaker ladies who, like the prophet Ezekiel, stripped themselves naked and walked through the streets of Salem, proclaiming that the town would soon be as bare as they were; or what he would have done to the Quaker lady who strode bare-legged and with blackened face into the midst of the service in the Old South Church and shouted that she was the smallpox come to destroy them. The community must

do something to preserve itself from the religious convictions of individualists, if it is to keep its unity and avoid anarchy, and it is not at all strange that the Quakers should have been regarded as a pest.

The Massachusetts colony remained dependent on the crown. If we wish a specimen of a pure republic based on religion, we must turn to the colonies of Hartford and New Haven. They did not acknowledge the authority of the king. All members of the town were required to be members of the church, and all such had the right to vote for the "Selectmen" who were to administer the government. Here was the old Anglo-Saxon town in operation again after a thousand years of interregnum, only with the culture of early Christianity in place of the Gods of War.

One other colony of the religious type deserves mention, especially since it consisted of those whom other colonies regarded as impossible citizens. After what one has learned of the actions of the Quakers in Massachusetts, one is inclined to attribute the success of Pennsylvania to the personal ascendancy of William Penn. A gentleman of position and fortune, he commanded the respect of English noblemen even when he identified himself with a sect which was regarded as subversive of government and of the whole social order. The Quakers had started a culture which was not only fratriarchal but absolutely anti-patriarchal. They addressed every one,—even the highest dignitaries, with the familiar "thee" and "thou." They kept their hats on even in the presence of the king, thus deliberately opposing all the culture of reverence on which society was then based. They differed from other fratriarchal systems, which owed their solidarity in large measure to the unifying effect of warlike emotions, in saying that all war was wrong, and that the emotion by which men must be bound together was that of brotherly love. They had thus turned back to the emotional culture of the early Church. They also held the belief in freedom of conscience and in individual inspiration, and it was this that caused trouble, and created the danger of anarchy, since they had been driven by opposi-

tion into a fanatical individualism quite different from the benevolent serenity that characterizes them to-day. William Penn saw this and sought to counteract it, for he said: "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." It is evident, therefore, that he did not intend to allow his principle of complete freedom of conscience to break up the unity of the community. The colony was so organized that its members were entirely dependent on him. He had defended the Quakers in England and had even been imprisoned for his efforts to protect them from persecution. In return for a claim owed him by the government, he secured a grant of the territory known as Pennsylvania and this he made a refuge for the afflicted members of the persecuted sect. His wise government produced one of the most successful of the American colonies. Though actually proprietor and monarch of the land, he sought to govern as a brother and fellow member and to hold them together by constantly cultivating the spirit of brotherly love. Even brotherhood did not suffice him. Once in dealing with the Indians he explained that they were to be one with his people not as brothers, but as two parts of a man's body. He always thought first of his people and because of his outlay for them spent his latter years in the debtors' prison in England. No government is so successful or so unifying as that which is controlled by a man with patriarchal authority which is upheld by the love of his people and administered for their benefit.

Some of the colonies were distinctly patriarchal if not monarchical in their basis of unity and therefore differed fundamentally from the republics of Connecticut and Rhode Island. In Maryland Lord Baltimore ruled his people as their recognized lord and proprietor. Penn was also a proprietor in fact, though but a brother in theory. Different as were the religious and political principles of Penn and Baltimore, the results were similar, and no colony was

freer and happier than the colony of Maryland under the rule of the Roman Catholic lord.

In one of the colonies the basis of unity was even more diverse from that of the New England republics, for it was most akin to the old feudal system of land tenure. Philosophers from Plato down have originated states in their minds, but Carolina afforded the opportunity to a philosopher to create an actual state in accordance with his theories. At the instance of Ashley Cooper, John Locke created this ideal government, known as the Grand Model, from his own brain for the people of the Carolina colony. The basis of unity was to be the cultivation of the soil, and for this purpose the feudal system of land tenure was deemed the most satisfactory form by which to unify the people.

There were to be an earl or landgrave and sundry barons over each county, who were to hold two-fifths of the land. The remainder was to be given to the people, who, as hereditary tenants, were to pay the nobles a fixed rent. They had no franchise and were obliged to support the Church of England. An assembly of "the estates" might be called to ratify the laws. The main idea was to protect the colony from the dangers of an ignorant democracy, which Locke—like Plato—evidently considered a most pernicious form of government. His complicated aristocracy did not at all appeal to the sturdy settlers who had taken up the land, and after prolonged efforts had been made to enforce it, the Grand Model was at last abandoned. It demonstrated that government, which should be a formulation of the sense of unity of a people, cannot be thrust upon them from outside but must be a true expression of their feelings and needs.

New Jersey was another of these proprietary schemes, but in order to attract settlers, special liberties were offered, which resulted in a fairly democratic government.

The colony of New York differed from the others in that it was founded by men of a different nationality. The Dutch do not seem to have transplanted to New York the spirit of liberty which defied the Spanish tyrants in their Declara-

tion of Independence in 1581. They apparently inclined more to an autocratic aristocracy than to democracy, and the Dutch West Indies Company used some patriarchal methods in handling their colonies. When stern old Peter Stuyvesant grasped the government he said: "We derive our authority from God and the West Indies Company." He apparently failed to create in the colonists the conviction that he was the sole vehicle of authority from two such supreme sources, for they do not seem to have been unwilling to transfer their allegiance to the Duke of York, when he conquered the port in 1664. They found, however, rather less liberty than the other British colonies had enjoyed. They were perhaps equally ready to be recaptured by the Dutch in 1673, and to try the English government again a year later,—always in the hope of something better. New York was, therefore, more varied and unstable in its basis of unity than any of the other colonies, but the commercial interest always predominated.

With all the radical differences which we have noted, the colonies were nevertheless all subject to a similar process of development. They followed the vicissitudes of the conflict in England between the patriarchal and fratriarchal forms of government. With the exception of the very patriarchal system of Carolina most of them started with a more democratic form of government than had yet been attained in England. The governor and a varying number of councillors represented the crown. There were popular assemblies in all, though the franchise varied in extent. After the overthrow of the king and under the Commonwealth government in England, all the colonies acquired a greater independence and most of them elected their own governors. The Restoration of the monarchy under Charles II saw in nearly all of them the re-establishment of control by the crown, which, under Andros in Massachusetts, became a veritable tyranny. The balance swung back again after the Revolution which put William and Mary on the throne, and the principles of the Declaration of Rights were recognized in America, and produced an even greater ef-

fect than in England. This was because the phrase, "No taxation without representation" meant something quite different in the colonies. In most of the American governments every man of property had the right to vote and was therefore directly represented. In England the great majority did not vote, and whole cities had no representative, but it was assumed that the Parliament represented all the people. It was this assumption that Parliament, as representative of all the people, had the right to tax the people of the colonies as it taxed those of unrepresented cities in England that caused the final break. The people of America had applied the principle more thoroughly than any one in England had thought of doing. It was not until 1832 that the justice of the American position was recognized in England, in the Reform Bill, which attempted to give a fair representation to all Englishmen who were taxed.

3. THE UNIFICATION OF THE COLONIES

It is evident from the above description that nothing could have been more varied in aims, constituency and government than this group of American colonies. In 1754 Franklin proposed a scheme for a federation of the colonies against the French. This somewhat alarmed the British crown as indicating a concerted move toward independence. Governor Shirley of New York reassured the British in these words: "Let it be considered how various are the various constitutions and their respective governments; how much their interests clash, and how opposed their tempers are, and any coalition among them will be found impossible." This was a reasonable judgment. What mutual understanding could there be between the Puritans of New England, the Rhode Islanders who had been driven out by them, the Dutch of New York, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the traders of Virginia, the aristocrats who owned Carolina, the Catholics of Maryland, the colony in Georgia of men rescued from debtors' prisons, between men whose aim was religious liberty and those who were sent by a

trading company, between groups of religious sects, each of which was ready to persecute the men of the next, between the republics of Connecticut and Rhode Island and the hereditary monarchies of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, and between the feudal system of Carolina and the vice royalties of Massachusetts and Virginia, with their dependence on the British crown?

We modern Americans do not understand what an amazing thing was accomplished by our forefathers, who succeeded in forming one single nation out of these diverse colonies which extended over an area greater than any country of Europe. It was an achievement difficult even with the aid of the strongest form of the old patriarchal culture of reverence and fear. To attempt such a thing by the fratriarchal culture, which had failed in England under Cromwell, and which barely sufficed to hold in loose federation the Swiss cantons whose united area did not equal that of one colony, seemed to every European statesman an absurdity.

By means of a perfect orgy of terror Peter the Great had just reduced the vast plains of Russia and its many warring tribes to unity. This was done only by a culture of tyranny which threw the achievements of Henry the Eighth far into the shade. Peter made himself head of the Church and slaughtered any man who ventured even by a look to question his absolute supremacy. Thousands were decapitated, and many were knouted and sent to Siberia, until terror stalked through the land and no man dared to raise so much as a finger in opposition. This supreme example of patriarchal government was apparently necessary to hold so vast a land in unity. It was awe, terror and reverence that kept those vast hordes obedient to the will of one man. What wonder that Frederick the Great, looking at the attempt of our colonies, thought it absurd and impossible to seek to hold so vast a territory together without the crown, and predicted that they would either break up through mutual quarrels and insurrections, or finally adopt the patriarchal government! Certainly history and experi-

ence were on his side. There was the Shays insurrection in Boston, and another in New Hampshire, which the weak government of the state put down only with difficulty; there was the warfare between Connecticut and Pennsylvania in the Wyoming valley, and the battles between New York and the men of Vermont, all of which seemed to prove his case. There were violent and continued disputes between Maryland and Virginia, and between many of the other colonies, which apparently only lacked time and opportunity to develop into war. There was only one point in favor of the attempt, and that was that they were nearly all men of one race, brought up under the same institutions and in the same type of national culture. But it was unreasonable to expect that a system which, in England itself, worked so disastrously that Cromwell was obliged to return to a military tyranny, would prove more successful in uniting these diverse colonies. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance to study how this great achievement was accomplished.

The first means was the old familiar Teutonic war culture, which in the past had proved the only means of holding large fratriarchal groups together. Just as the Anglo-Saxon towns and villages could be aroused to combine to defend their homes by addresses in their assemblies, like those that Cæsar reports among the Helvetii, so the American colonies were aroused and unified in a great emotional drive to secure what they called their "rights." This seems a rather vague and academic matter to stir men's souls to the necessary degree, but the same watchword had already served to stimulate and unite their ancestors against Charles I. Its appeal was familiar and the emotional response was prepared. Even so, it is doubtful if it would have succeeded if they had not often before been compelled to unite temporarily against the French and Indians for the more vital reason of protecting their homes from being burned, their wives from being ravished and their children from being tortured. Such a cause arouses powerful emotions and under their dominion it is not difficult to achieve at least a temporary union among the sufferers, just as the

tribes of Israel could be roused to united action by sending the dismembered limbs of the victim of an outrage to their various assemblies throughout the land.

A certain experience of unity had thus been created before the subject of "rights" was introduced as its new basis. This demand for their rights was due to the fact that they took the British Declaration of Rights much more seriously than the British themselves, as has been explained. It is somewhat surprising that the leading British statesmen, such as Pitt and Burke, should have seen that the American demand was a logical result of accepted principles and should have defended the colonies so brilliantly that many English soldiers were unwilling to come over to fight against the Americans, so that George III was obliged to hire Hessians for the purpose. He and his henchmen were determined to put down the colonies, as he saw that to admit their rights would involve the admission of similar rights in England, and a further curtailment of the powers of the throne and the aristocracy.

A second right upon which the colonists insisted, as did all Englishmen, was the right to be tried by their peers. This was infringed upon when the British government insisted that colonists accused of treason should be brought to England for trial. A third grievance was the quartering of British soldiers upon the colonists. In view of the fact that, so short a time before, Englishmen had submitted to having their noses slit and their ears cut off and their property confiscated for some trifling difference of opinion with the king, it is strange that so much emotion should have been aroused over questions that appear so academic, and that the well meaning, stupid George III should have been so violently assailed as a tyrant.

In achieving the unity of the colonies it made little difference what the grievance was, provided it sufficed to rouse the emotions, and was general enough to touch all the colonies. It is interesting to watch the culture of this unifying emotion under the inflammatory speeches of such men as Samuel Adams in Boston and Patrick Henry in Vir-

ginia. Under the stimulus of such phrases as "Give me liberty or give me death," emotion was gradually aroused to so high a pitch that when the first blow fell upon Massachusetts all the other colonies sprang to her defense.

This, however, was far from adequate to maintain unity through a long struggle. These patriotic effusions produced bursts of enthusiasm when throngs joined the army, but since there was no patriarchal culture of awe behind the central authority to hold men to their duty, they dwindled away and returned to their homes when difficulties and hardships arose and the unifying emotion cooled. The mere handful that remained at Valley Forge were a witness to the inadequacy of such an emotion as a permanent unifying agent. Traitors sprang up on all sides, among even the most trusted officers. The plots and cabals among his most prominent advisers would have disheartened or overthrown any leader but Washington. A large proportion of the colonists had so little public spirit or sense of unity that they were willing to sacrifice the army and the cause for the profits they could make from the war. The menace became so great that the long suffering Washington, who had endured the treachery of Arnold, Gates and Lee, finally burst forth against these petty profiteers. We must "hunt down these pests of society," he said. "I would to God some of the most atrocious in each state were hung on the gallows. No punishment is too great for him who can build his greatness on his country's ruin." This is the great difficulty in fratriarchal unity. When the unifying emotion dies down, men split up to follow their individual desires, regardless of the common good.

The colonists did not rely merely upon a unifying emotion to hold them together. They endeavored to give the unity form in an organization. They were used to the method of representation in their assemblies. They had only to apply it by electing representatives from each colony for a general assembly. The first Congress was formed in this way in 1774. Each colony had one vote in it, and it produced a Declaration of Rights which won the enthusiastic support of the great Lord Chatham.

The second Congress in 1775 was similar to it. It started subject to the Crown of England and after the Declaration of Independence its sovereignty was uncertain, as each colony claimed to be a sovereign state. When Ethan Allen demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga and was met by the query: "In whose name?" it would have taxed the powers of the cleverest statesman to frame an answer. His shout "In the name of the Continental Congress and the great Jehovah" must have sorely bewildered the half-awakened British officer, who probably had never before heard of these national sovereigns. Although the Continental Congress may not have possessed the sovereignty claimed by Ethan Allen, power was given it to create an army and navy, a post office and a currency, and the forms of unity were thus assumed, at least in part. The colonists hesitated to cut loose from the British crown. Apparently they thought a government could no more operate without a king than a body without a head. It was only with difficulty that the vote for independence was carried, and it was not until a year later that Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union were drawn up. The government of the Congress was tragically weak. In war, of all times, a strong central authority is necessary to enforce unity of action when enthusiasm wanes and the usual divisions begin. This was the reason why in warfare fraternal governments adopted the comitatus, whereby warriors swore implicit obedience to their leader, and put their lives utterly into his hands. Washington had no such authority; his soldiers deserted by the thousands. When divisions began and even he was betrayed, there was no force to hold men together. Congress had no power of taxation; it could not even supply the army with sufficient food and clothing to keep them alive. It was divided itself on every political principle, and was without authority. This accounts in large measure for the futile way in which the war dragged on. No success could be followed up. If Franklin had not secured the aid of the disciplined troops and powerful navy of France, it is improbable that the disorganized colonial army could have

held together until England was willing to grant independence.

It seems evident then that neither the emotions of the people, nor the form of federated government they had created would have been adequate to create a united nation. Even when the war ended in victory, division and insurrection were so rife that it seemed as if the only hope were to follow Cromwell and establish a military despotism with Washington at the head. Doubtless any other man than he, after an experience of eight years with a vacillating and contentious Congress, with jealous states, faithless soldiers and traitorous friends, would have abandoned the whole system as worthless and impracticable, and accepted the crown that was offered him, in order to force the incoherent, squabbling states into some semblance of unity or order. We are all familiar with the noble and indignant words in which he refused the offer. It seems perhaps merely a quixotic gesture. But it is apparent that he thoroughly understood the situation, for with extraordinary wisdom he picked out the four essentials of a fratriarchal state. He had given all he had to form such a state and he believed it could be created if these four suggestions could be carried out. First, he said, there must be an indissoluble union of states under one federal head. That is, in place of a loose federation like the Swiss, without any real unity or power to act, there must be a firm, coherent organization under a single recognized authority. So far Congress had been a mere war measure, a kind of defensive alliance, and under his third head, "the adoption of a proper peace establishment," Washington indicated the necessity of a permanent organization that would deal with the problems of peace as well as those of war. But his chief wisdom lay in showing the importance of cultivating the right emotions. He demanded the cultivation of a "sacred regard for public justice." It was the lack of this emotion of reverence for the law, so diligently cultivated by the patriarchal system, that he saw was likely to cause the collapse of the democratic state. All the old machinery for developing it had been

scrapped. Unless each citizen determined to cultivate it in his own home and in his own attitude, laws would be disregarded and chaos would result. Most interesting of all is his fourth point, which shows that he understood that a permanent fratriarchal community must depend upon developing a direct sense of unity with some other basis than that which was dependent on emotions aroused by war. The war culture might unite for a time, but he saw only too plainly that it must fail over a long period. A patriarchal community hangs together by the emotion of reverence or awe which binds each individual to his king, as iron filings are held together because each is bound to the magnet. When the magnet is taken away, if the bits of iron are to be held together they must develop an attraction for one another. Washington says that their success will depend on the "prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies and make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances to sacrifice individual advantages to the interest of the community."

It was many centuries since the great discovery was made that there was an emotion that would hold men together directly, without the compulsion of authority, but until Washington no one apparently had thought of designating it as the emotion that must be cultivated to insure the success and prosperity of a nation. Unfortunately no suggestion was made as to how this should be done. History is full of examples that reveal how the awe and reverence necessary to the patriarchal system can be developed, but no nation as yet has discovered or employed an effective culture for this emotion of public spirit, or brotherhood.

4. THE CREATION OF A BODY POLITIC

In the preceding section we have described how the diverse American colonies were brought into a certain unity by the exigencies of the moment and the emotions aroused

by war. We have endeavored to show that every permanent group must have a basis upon which it can develop a sense of unity and certain forms through which its purposes can be framed and expressed. Washington had said that there must be organized an indissoluble union under one federal head and a permanent peace establishment. To create a nation there must be some form more binding than that of a federation of self-governing states like that first formed by the Swiss cantons. These little states were held together by a council of delegates which was merely advisory and had no power to act or levy taxes. It could not frame a common purpose or carry it out. No national government of the kind the colonies desired existed in the world. They had to create something entirely new. Moreover, they had to do it in an entirely new way. All other governments had been a matter of slow growth. The body politic had grown along with the needs and ideas of the people. The American statesmen proposed to create all at once a complete new body and then to move into it. The method they devised was a great invention. There was no king to give them a charter, and so they proposed to draft a document to which they would all swear allegiance and thus constitute themselves a nation. Their allegiance to this document would then be their basis of unity, just as loyalty to the king was the basis on which the sense of unity in a monarchy rested. This invention has been so frequently used since their day that we are prone to forget what a startling idea it was. The possibility of such a procedure had never occurred to anyone before. The constitutions that had previously existed, such as the Roman Law, or the Magna Charta, or the Bill of Rights, had been merely formulations of old laws and rights long in practice. No one had attempted to create a constitution which should define what the rights and legal procedure of a new nation should be. Groups had been constituted by a mutual agreement for some definite purpose, but to form such groups as these was quite a different matter from this attempt to create a nation by a document. The only precedent

was found in the Connecticut Colony, which had drawn up its own constitution. This document was to take the place of the King as the unifying agent of the nation and just as men swore allegiance to the King, so they were to swear allegiance to the Constitution. Now there are many powerful emotions that may reinforce the allegiance of a man to his King,—reverence, personal loyalty and devotion all come into play, and it has been shown how elaborate were the emotional cultures by which these feelings were developed. To hold a man loyal to a document there could be nothing but that sense of honor which keeps a man true to his word when once it is given. If a constitution is to succeed men must keep their allegiance to it even when it seems to operate to their disadvantage. Like children who have organized a complicated game, they must play the game even when they are losing, and neither break the rules nor refuse to play. Apart from the institution of chivalry there had been no definite emotional culture for such an emotion, and it was more by chance than intent that in the age-long development of the Anglo-Saxon race there appeared in the better class of citizens such a sense of honor as made possible this method of organizing a government.

To draw up an agreement that would win the allegiance of men of such different types was by no means an easy task. It would, of course, be impossible to gain the assent of any one to an agreement he did not consider fair. Unity can be secured only by the surrender of a certain amount of liberty. Men exchange the freedom of individual action for the advantage that comes through the aid and co-operation of others. Fratriarchal principles required that the agreement should be such that no king or aristocracy or special section could gain a greater advantage from this joint action than the rest obtained. Moreover, it must be so drawn that no one man and no group could force the people into action against their will. In fratriarchal government authority rests with the people. In case of a dispute division will ensue. The disaster resulting from disunion must be recognized to be greater than any harm that would

result from submission to the will of the majority. As Franklin said: "If you don't hang together you will hang separately." This is the great difficulty in fratriarchal rule. The tyranny of the majority over a minority may be as obnoxious as the tyranny of a king, save that it affects only a small number. No group will subscribe to an agreement where its interests are likely to be persistently outvoted by a majority of other groups.

It was necessary, then, in the agreement of the colonies to provide full protection for minorities. Checks must be put in the government so that the majority could not ride rough shod over any minority, and so that the minority might have full opportunity to present its cause and to propose compromises. It must be made so difficult to carry a measure against a strong minority that the majority would prefer to arrange a compromise to win their support. The true purpose of fratriarchal government is not majority rule—which is really tyranny. Its aim is a rule which expresses the will of the whole people, with the majority decision as a final means of settlement when unanimity cannot be reached. The ideal is that each measure should be so thoroughly discussed that it should in the end express the needs and embody the protests of every section and thus be truly the expression of the common will. The larger the nation the more difficult it becomes to pass any measure satisfactory to all, and to arrange the machinery of a government through which the will of all may be expressed. It seems evident, then, that the basis of unity or agreement to which all swore allegiance must outline a definite form of government which was satisfactory to all. As already described in the accounts of the fratriarchal nations, the means used for arriving at a common decision was the popular assembly. We have shown how the Anglo-Saxons gradually developed the representative assembly. It had taken many centuries to make this plan emotionally effective and we can only suggest the manner in which it may have been done. The English had their local assemblies of the various towns. These elected representatives to the as-

sembly of the "Hundred," which covered several townships, and they also sent representatives to the County or Shire Assembly. These delegates were true representatives and could act for the people in county matters, and the men of the towns felt bound by their decisions. It would appear then that such a feeling of reality had been injected into the system that the people felt that they had been present in their delegates and had joined in their decisions. This feeling of identity with the delegate was perhaps due to the fact that each man had a vote in choosing the representative, so that the voter might feel that the delegate was his choice and belonged to him, and that he was therefore bound to stand by him. He knew also that he was at liberty to choose some one else at any time if his delegate did not suit him. Now various parts of this system had been taken over to America by the colonists. The northern colonies had taken over the town meeting, which elected its representatives to the Colonial Assembly. In Virginia, where there were large plantations and fewer towns, the small unit was the parish, but the important group was that of the county, and this elected its representatives to the House of Burgesses. Maryland was the only state which preserved the Hundred as an assembly. Since they had used one or another of these plans all the states were accustomed to the Representative Assembly, and it is probable that they had developed the emotional background which made them feel they were present in their representatives and bound by their decisions. The Representative Assembly could then be taken as the form for the new national government.

A difficulty at once appeared as to the method of representation. In the first Congress each colony had the same number of delegates. The larger colonies felt this to be unjust and demanded representation in proportion to population. The smaller colonies protested that by this method they would be entirely subject to the larger colonies. The method in use in the state of Connecticut was suggested as a compromise. This provided that there should be two houses, in one of which each section had equal representa-

tion, while in the other the representation was in proportion to the population. This was finally adopted, and it was arranged that the legislature of each state should elect two delegates to the senate. The states were then to be divided into election districts of equal population and each district was to elect a representative to the House, or National Assembly. Measures (save those dealing with finance) could be originated in either house, but did not become law until they passed both. This formed a powerful check upon the majority and made it impossible to rush through a vote before the minority had had full opportunity to be heard and to suggest compromises. It was designed to leave with each state the power to direct its own affairs in all local matters and to refer to the national government only those things which affected the nation as a whole. This is a very important element in fratriarchal government, for it is very difficult to carry out a plan or enforce a law in a community which disapproves of it. If each community is allowed to make its own plans and laws this difficulty is avoided. There are, of course, certain laws and regulations which must be national in order to be effective. The dissatisfaction with certain legislation, which is often expressed, is usually a result of the attempt to enforce such national laws in districts which are opposed to them.

Division due to disputes between the states was prevented by the organization of a Supreme Court and of federal courts. This is of course extremely important and frequent wars would undoubtedly have sprung up between the Colonies had there been no machinery for settling such difficulties peaceably. While it is interesting to follow out in detail the intricate adjustments which have enabled the United States government to operate successfully, space limits us to these essentials.

5. DEFECTS IN THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM

Such in general terms are the forms which the American Democracy has assumed. It was perhaps as ingenious and effective a device as could have been created to meet the

exigencies of the occasion, and its success may be judged by the fact that it has been closely copied by most of the democratic governments that have come into existence since that day.

It has not functioned, however, exactly as its originators intended. To carry out their intent and to make the United States government truly representative of the people, it would seem that certain changes may be necessary. It seems evident that this representative feature is the most important and fundamental element in the system. We have already shown that the patriarchal system required merely a form of the type of the efferent nervous system, carrying purposes, commands and laws from the head to the various limbs. A system of officials representing the King in descending ranks was all that was necessary. The fraternal form resembles more the human body in requiring a system which is both efferent and afferent, which carries the feelings of the extremities to the head where they are balanced and coordinated, and which then conveys the unified purpose back from the head to the limbs. If the body is to function correctly it is evident that each area or sense organ must have a nerve that reports its individual sensations to the brain and reports them correctly. One can imagine the inextricable confusion if the same nerve conveyed sensations from both the ear and eye, and sounds and colors were indistinguishably mingled,—or if the same nerve reported from both hand and foot, so that one could not tell in which was the pain. If one hand is being burned by the fire and the other is held by a friend, and both sensations are indistinguishably reported by the same nerve, it would be difficult for the head to determine how to act. The first law of representation should be, therefore, that each area capable of a unified sensation should be represented, and that no two areas liable to produce conflicting sensations should have the same representative. If this is not arranged, no accurate coordination or action is possible. A method in accord with these principles was carefully worked out by the original colonies. It has been shown how

very diverse they were, in constituency, in aims, and in feelings, and how greatly their interests clashed. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance for each section to have a representative to transmit its desires so that they could be coordinated with those of the others, and to report its injuries so that they could be remedied by joint action. If one part is being oppressed by the rest and has no means of remonstrating, it will soon seek to sever its connection. If it can proclaim its injuries through a delegate it is probable that the oppressors will grant relief. If they will not, they will at least give a reason why they cannot do so, and even this should serve to preserve unity.

In the beginning the divisions among the colonies were geographic, and the representation was therefore geographic also. As the nation developed a gradual change occurred. The states of the west and north became more like one another, but more diversified internally. This process continued until to-day the great cleavage in national issues is not geographic at all, save in a few special cases. The same clashing interests and opinions exist in all the states and in nearly all their election districts. Prominent issues that call for governmental action do not affect the interests of the people in the same section in the same way, as was ordinarily the case in colonial days. On the contrary, there are different classes, some of which will be benefited, some harmed, and some untouched by each measure proposed. Now all the classes present in one election district have one representative, who is supposed to convey their desires to the head for coordination. Instead of the clear statement, "This measure will hurt us and for this reason," which could be coordinated and adjusted, he hears a confused clamor, "It will harm!" "It will benefit!" "It makes no difference!" "Do it!" "Don't do it!" accompanied by threats to depose him if he votes for it, or if he votes against it. The result is that he ceases to be a representative in any true sense of the word, since he has nothing but chaos to represent. He must either make up his own mind and do what he thinks best regardless of his constituency, like cer-

tain of our fearless Senators, or else he must stall along, and try to do nothing, since he knows that any vote or action will offend half of his constituents. Thus, instead of knowing how each issue will affect each class and being able to frame a measure that will do justice to all, our government is confused by incoherent clamor and vital issues are either avoided or decisions are made with no clear understanding of the needs or will of the people.

If, for instance, in the case of an appeal for government action in case of a coal strike, the miners had a representative to present their cause, and the employers had their representative to show their difficulties, if the manufactories had their delegate to report the effect of a coal shortage on them, and the transportation and shipping interests, the public utilities, the shopkeepers, the professional men and the day laborers had each their delegate to report their sufferings and how a proposed measure would affect them, it might then be possible to legislate intelligently, and to coordinate their interests with some prospect of success. As it is, most of the really effective work of government has to be done by committees outside its regular machinery, who gather representatives from all sides and frame a report on the basis of their information. The government itself has ceased to be truly a representative government, for no one knows what a delegate represents, any more than he does himself. Political corruption must result from such a situation. With real representation a delegate does not dare to vote otherwise than his constituency directs. As it is now, he is impelled from both sides, and the temptation to bribery is very great. Moreover this situation gives opportunity to the professional politician, who does not seek to represent the people so much as to win wealth and power for himself. He naturally finds this confused representation the best possible field for his endeavors, and is strongly opposed to any change in the system.

It should be stated that from the time of Athens down to the present day there have been able statesmen who have sincerely opposed the type of government in which every

local issue or class interest finds representation, on the ground that a representative of this type does not consider the welfare of the nation as a whole but seeks to advance the cause of his constituency or class at the expense of the general welfare. It is claimed that class feeling or local feeling is aroused and maintained by this method, and therefore that it tends to create division rather than harmony. The Athenians sought to avoid this when they changed from the old system of representation by families, between whom were strong rivalries, to representation by wards between which were no issues of importance. The French government has changed from the system by which each commune elected its representative to one in which a large section votes for a group of delegates, in order to avoid the selection of the type of delegate who would seek to advance the interests of his village at the expense of the nation.

Those who favor such general representation rather than the specific type believe in majority rule, and that to attain it local needs should be ignored and minority opinion suppressed as far as possible.

Representation of specific needs and local interests is based on the theory that the majority should not rule tyrannically, and that no vote should be passed which the minority opinion has not had an opportunity to modify. In other words a vote should not mean that certain sections of the country are carrying out their will without regard to the fact that another section will be injured by such action, and without even giving such a section the means to protest and to ask for adjustment. From this point of view democratic government does not mean majority rule, but the rule of the whole people, achieved by an adjustment of the will of the majority to the needs of the minority, as expressed through their representatives. It would seem as if this theory were likely to preserve unity more perfectly and to serve more adequately the public welfare.

If each need and interest in the country is given the opportunity to express itself and to present its cause along

with all other rival interests, it would seem that the average legislator would then be able to vote more intelligently for the public good. There is always the danger that a representative will seek to benefit his constituency at the expense of the nation, but if the issue is made plain by free discussion, the other delegates would vote down any such attempt. It would seem, moreover, that where there is strong class or local feeling, it is better to give it the opportunity of free expression in some forum where both sides can be heard and an adjustment reached, than to allow it to ferment under ground until it produces revolution.

In the United States there are still certain issues that are local and we find representatives who are working diligently to improve the condition of the township from which they came and to secure for it irrigation privileges, or power facilities, or harbors or other advantages. Such causes should be presented and it is necessary to risk the danger that the more eloquent representative may secure the larger supply of pork.

But as already stated the main cleavage of interests is on the line of employment as it was in the medieval cities. We have already described how the situation was met in the government of these cities by creating a council of representatives of the various craft guilds. It is interesting to note that in the government of the German Republic, provision is made for such a house of representatives of all the various classes of workers, and it is proposed to refer to this assembly all economic questions and bills. The Webb plan for the British government provides for such a house in addition to those already in existence, and the Labor Party is advocating a government in which the present houses will be replaced by such a house on the plan of the old guild council. Russia has also attempted such a system, but it seems hardly probable that it can succeed, since the industrial element is so small in that country, and since the predominant peasant group is given no adequate representation. In Russia, therefore, such a system amounts to an industrial oligarchy. Any such system would prove

harmful unless every class in the population, farmer as well as industrial worker, capitalist as well as miner, teacher as well as laborer,—had adequate representation.

It would, of course, be difficult for the government to classify men so accurately that each type of interest should find expression, but men are already classifying themselves by unions and associations through which they try to bring influence to bear on legislation. Unfortunately, this method often puts the majority of the people under the control of a minority, simply because it is well organized and vociferous, while the large mass of the deserving public is inarticulate and helpless. If all groups were equally represented we would be saved from the annoyance of being ruled at the behest of the group that is best organized and that shouts the loudest. It may be that in the end all the various interests will be adequately organized and that in America also their delegates will form an extra house in the government where the more important economic questions can be taken from the hands of politicians and discussed by the men whom they vitally affect. It should, of course, be so arranged that smaller classes should have a representation that would protect them, as was done in the case of the smaller states by creating a second House in which they had the same number of delegates as the large states. If this could be carried out so that every class of workers felt itself adequately represented, all probability of revolution or anarchy would be done away with, for every dissatisfied element of society would find then an adequate means of expression.

6. THE BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH

The citizens of the American Commonwealth did not derive their sense of unity from a consciousness of blood relationship, nor was membership in it limited to men of one race. As already stated, what bound them together was their mutual agreement—their oath to uphold the Constitu-

tion. It is a question whether it was wise to make no further requirement for membership than a mere assent to this document. Such an assent may be given without any understanding of the principles involved and with no real loyalty to them. We have attempted to show that the success of any group depends upon its loyalty to the basis upon which its unity is constituted.

If the unity is religious and based upon certain beliefs and standards, it is suicidal to introduce a mass of people with different beliefs, whose prejudices are so strong that they cannot be inoculated with the beliefs of the group, for they will inevitably start emotional cultures that will split the group to fragments. If the group unity is based on fratriarchal government and thought, it will be hopelessly divided if a group of prejudiced royalists is introduced into its midst. A group of Quakers would be foolish to admit a large element of prejudiced militarists, and the converse is equally true. This seems self-evident, but nevertheless most of our troubles, social and political, seem due to a failure to understand this fact. If such an antagonistic group is admitted, the basis of union must be changed or disunion must result. It was such a gradual change to a broader basis that made the ultimate union of the colonies possible. The groups, each of which had its own basis, religious, commercial, or political, without necessarily abandoning their local unities discovered a broader ground on which they could all agree and which would serve as a basis for their common unity. This they embodied in the constitution, and it was understood that any man who was willing to take oath that he would live by that agreement and support it, would be recognized as a citizen. It probably did not occur to them that hordes of ignorant people who knew nothing of the principles of democracy and who had no idea of loyalty would apply for citizenship. They were thinking of men who were capable of understanding the meaning of the agreement, and who were of such a character that they could be counted upon to keep their oaths. As nearly all the men of the colonies were of this type, the

importance of making clear the limitation of membership to men of a certain type was not seen. Now it should be evident that every group must be privileged to limit its membership as it chooses, and to protect itself from antagonistic and disintegrating elements which would enter only to disrupt it. The difficulty with the American union was that its creators did not see clearly that this union was based on a certain type of character. They started with a philosophic preamble to the effect that all men are free and equal and have certain inalienable rights. While this was true in a relative way, as compared with the theory that the feudal retainer was owned by his lord and subject to his will, even they themselves did not believe it was true from the practical standpoint or in any general application, since slavery was common among them, and there were many human beings whom they did not regard as their equals or as possessing the same rights.

If they had stated plainly that they were seeking to build a nation on the basis of the Anglo-Saxon democracy, out of men who had been trained in its ideas and in the type of character essential to it, and that all those would be excluded who did not believe in this system or who were incapable of the requisite type of character, they would have been more sincere and the situation would have been simpler for their descendants. Assent to the constitution was made a requisite to citizenship, but this does not necessarily mean a real and vital belief in the principles of American government, and it soon became a mere formality by which thousands of citizens were accepted who had no conception of its significance. An additional requirement for membership should be an habituation to popular representative government. It has taken many centuries to develop a sense of reality for this method of representation, and for men who have not learned to feel it as a reality it can hardly be expected to operate successfully. It is not impossible to train men in this, however, if they have the right type of character.

It is in the matter of character, however, that the chief

difficulty occurs. It is only with men of a certain type that democratic government can succeed. The fundamental principle on which hangs the success of popular government is that of majority rule. The majority decides what the purpose of the nation shall be and how its resources shall be employed. It also makes the laws of the land. There is no emotional culture to enforce obedience as in the case of commands given by kings, or laws framed by prophets who speak by divine authority. The independent temper of the people tends to make them resent any authority contrary to their will, and when the minority in opposition is large, there is danger of anarchy. The only safeguard against this is the development of a type of character peculiarly Anglo-Saxon, which has been achieved through centuries of training. In the following chapter we shall attempt to describe the emotions that lead men to obey the rule of the majority and the culture by which they are produced. It may be possible for a certain proportion of the population to acquire the habit of obedience to majorities in a sheeplike fashion, but unless there is a predominance of men of character it is hardly possible that popular government should succeed without the use of despotic methods or the development of a militaristic system, as proved necessary in the Russian attempt to establish popular government.

An important element in the Anglo-Saxon character is the sense of responsibility. The government rests on the personal responsibility of the citizens and if they are incapable of feeling any responsibility for good government or for the public weal, the government must be a failure. Also the officials chosen by the people are not held to their duties by fear of torture and death if they displease an angry king or a stern dictator, and unless they have such a sense of their responsibility to the people that they will perform their duties faithfully, the government is likely to be as bad, if not worse, than that of a tyranny. If the authors of the constitution were questioned, it would probably be found that in framing their constitution and in stating that under it men should be free and equal, they were thinking of men of this sturdy

Anglo-Saxon type, of which the colonies then consisted. They certainly were not thinking of the negro slaves, nor of women, who had then had no training in sportsmanship or public responsibility and whom they probably regarded as incapable of it, and therefore excluded. If the admission to their citizenship of Chinamen or Turks or even of such ignorant throngs as sometimes come to us from Central Europe, or southern Italy, had been suggested to them, they would probably have made a clearer statement of the requirements of citizenship.

A further reason why a certain type of character is essential to the success of fratriarchal government is that the progress of the nation is dependent upon a unified will. Its citizens must have some common purpose to determine what their nation is to stand for or become. If men of conflicting ideals are brought in, it becomes increasingly difficult to arrive at a common purpose, or to work out any plan of national development. The difficulties our forefathers experienced even with those men who had long been trained in the Anglo-Saxon system, who had developed at least to some extent its essential characteristics, and who had a certain similarity in the goal which they envisaged for the nation, would have led them to hesitate long before any project of universal suffrage.

To-day this question has become so mixed with the racial question, with all its violent prejudices, that it is hard to disentangle it. Fitness for membership in the nation should not be determined on racial, but on cultural lines. We have a nation based on a type of government whose success depends on certain characteristics developed through a long course of evolution, and whose unity centres about certain ideals. To admit a preponderant mass of men who have not those characteristics and who scoff at those ideals, would probably mean to render the government a failure and to destroy the sense of national unity. It happens that the necessary characteristics were developed by the Anglo-Saxon race. Certain other races also developed them. In so far as they did they will make good citizens, as has been

abundantly proved in the case of our early immigration. Certain other races seem never to have developed them, and in consequence whenever they attempt a popular government it results in a failure, which terminates either in anarchy or in some kind of dictatorship. It may be possible for them under American tutelage to learn to develop the essential characteristics, but it would seem as if their admission should be a gradual process. Much of the corruption in our government seems to be due to the rash way in which we admit to citizenship men who have not yet learned its meaning.

It should be made clear that no matter of race or color or creed should be made a barrier to citizenship provided a man can qualify in reference to the fundamentals on which our unity is based. Many have felt that the sudden admission of the negroes from slavery to citizenship was a serious mistake, since the mass of them could hardly have the required characteristics or the necessary understanding of our national aims. The same might be said of the American Indians. In so far as they have acquired these essentials, color or race should not be regarded as a bar. In the case of orientals, brought up under totally different standards and ideals, it would seem as if a still longer period of initiation would be necessary before they could wisely participate with us in any plan of national unity and government. It is a mistake to infer that men are excluded because they are inferior. They should be excluded only because they are unamalgamable, and this might be due to superiority. Any culture which is distinctly and fundamentally opposed to our system of government, be it patriarchal or anarchistic in form, could only result in division and disaster, if admitted into our body politic.

Since judgments are made in the mass it is not surprising that unjust discrimination should be made by unreasoning people against the races that are farthest from the Anglo-Saxon character and standards, and that public opinion should ignore the many individuals among them who have succeeded in achieving the highest standards of

character. The movement to restrict immigration is, of course, an effort to preserve national unity by taking in only such types and such numbers as we can hope to train in the essentials of American citizenship. The difficulty is that we do not ourselves understand how to train our own youth in those things which we know to be essential to good government, and we are too prone to rely on inheritance and tradition to make them as their forefathers were. If we understood thoroughly how to train for citizenship, it would not be necessary to restrict immigration. Much attention is now paid to the immigrants and the care given to the training of their children, combined with unusual receptivity, sometimes results in making better citizens of them than are to be found among Americans of ten generations, so that there should be no doubt about admitting the children of any race after proper training.

In conclusion, it seems that it should be made clear that no one has the right to demand admittance to any group social or political unless he is willing to accept the standards upon which its unity is based and is capable of understanding them.

CHAPTER V

THE EMOTIONAL CULTURES OF DEMOCRACY

I. THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD

AT the time of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, one hundred and fifty years ago, this experiment in democracy on a large scale was regarded by rulers of Europe such as Frederick the Great, as an absurd and futile attempt. The only successful democracy at that time was Switzerland, which was rather a federation of oligarchies than a true democracy. The only monarchies which could be regarded as democratic in character were England, Holland, and Sweden. Other governments varied from absolute despotism to autocratic monarchies in which certain classes had a nominal vote. Japan was an autocracy of the ancient type in which the Mikado was regarded as a god or a son of God. In China the emperor was the Son of Heaven. Most of the other monarchies were maintained by a religious sanction of some kind. The Sultan was also the Caliph or representative of the prophet, the Czar was the head of the Russian Church, the Emperor of Austria was the head of the Holy Roman Empire, authorized by the Pope. The control of the princes of Germany was so despotic that the Duke of Hesse could sell his soldiers to England much as one would sell cattle. Nearly all kings ruled by divine right and reverence for them was maintained by an elaborate emotional culture of ceremonial. In some countries such as India, Persia, and Egypt, there were despotisms founded on force and maintained by ceremonial. All South America was subject to the autocratic rule of Spain and Portugal. In these 150 years the change that has taken place is well-nigh incredible. From a world of autocratic governments in which there were only three of importance that could be considered

democratic, we have been transformed into a democratic world in which only three autocracies, Abyssinia, Siam, and Afghanistan, remain.

The greatest changes came as a result of the World War, which was supposed to make the world safe for democracy. This it certainly accomplished, for a dozen republics sprang up as an immediate result. Some of these, as Germany, Russia, Poland, and Turkey, are first-class powers. Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Greece are less powerful. The democracy of China and Persia was not directly due to the war. In the monarchies that remain, such as England, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland, the king has become a mere figurehead, while the government is in the hands of the people. A change so vast as this cannot be regarded as the result of normal growth, and seems in many countries rather the result of a sort of hysteria than a wisely adapted method of government. The statement that "although the world is now safe for democracy, democracy is not safe for the world," is more than a mere phrase. In China democracy has produced nothing but disaster and in a large number of the countries that adopted it, it has proved so dangerous or so inefficient that some sort of a dictatorship has been substituted for it. The preceding chapters would seem to show that democracy can only work successfully where there has been a long preparation in the character of the people. Napoleon, who had probably as clear an intellect as any ruler of modern times, is said to have been thoroughly disgusted with the attempts of the French to establish a republic before he instituted the dictatorship. He saw that this would be inadequate without the old religious sanctions and ceremonial and although he had little belief in God, he summoned the Pope to anoint him with the sacred oil, and to sanction his coronation. In other words, although he did not believe in the Church or in the truths of religion, he saw their necessity as an emotional culture. In Russia there has been a similar reaction from revolution to autocracy, as described in another chapter.

Italy, which tried a constitutional government with popular representation, found it hopelessly inefficient. Bribery, corruption, and special privilege were on every hand. Popular discontent broke out in continual strikes and insurrections and the country was in a most disastrous condition when Mussolini took hold. His remedy was a despotic dictatorship. Special privileges were abolished; men were compelled to work under threat of dire punishment; officers elected by the people were replaced by those appointed by the dictator; any disobedience or criticism of the government was instantly disciplined. We are now informed that universal suffrage has been abolished, that only workers may vote, that the parliament is to consist of men representing various employments, that officers will be nominated by the central committee, and men will be allowed to vote only for parties and not for individuals. It may be that other democracies may find a refuge in this method. If the suffrage is being used unwisely, it is always possible to limit it to those classes who are fitted to use it well. And a house elected on the basis of employment is more likely to be representative to-day than one based on locality. More important even than these changes is the return to the old patriarchal idea of a ruler by Divine right. Of the recent reorganization of government the Rome *Tribuna* says, "Above all in the new organization of the state there is to be the leader who cannot be confined within the law, but who is given to us by the will of God."

The antagonism of Church and State in Italy has prevented Mussolini from gaining the sanction of the Pope as did Napoleon, and in place of that emotional culture he has sought to build up around him the culture of Cæsarism, which naturally has a great emotional appeal in Rome. The meaning of all this seems to be that at present democracy will not work in Italy and its wisest rulers think it necessary to return to the old autocratic methods. Spain also has been under the control of a dictatorship, and the same is true of Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania. Many of the South and Central American states appear to keep in a con-

tinual state of revolution save when they are under a powerful dictator. It would seem probable therefore, that at present democracy is practicable only in certain parts of the world. If we look at the map we find that north of Latitude 50 all democracies seem to be successful save those in the extreme east of Europe, *i. e.*, Russia, Poland, and Lithuania. England, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia all seem to be able to operate a democracy with fair success. South of Latitude 50 Switzerland and Czecho-Slovakia seem to prosper. France is handicapped by several parties that are seeking to overturn the government,—the Legitimists, the Orleanists, the Bonapartists, and the Communists, and it is doubtful if democratic institutions have any real hold upon the people. The administration is bureaucratic and centralized. Such democratic institutions as trial by jury do not seem to succeed even in the small measure in which they are attempted. Aside from these it is hard to find any government, either republican or monarchic, that can be called a successful democracy.

It seems then to be true that democracy operates successfully only among those Nordic peoples, Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic, who have long been trained in democratic institutions, and where there is a large proportion of the people who have sufficient initiative to work as well in freedom as under the lash, sufficient sense of honor to be as honest when left to themselves as when they are spied upon, and who are more likely to be just when they are free than when the attempt is made to compel them. For the rest it seems that for the present some sort of autocratic control is necessary,—either supported by mere force or by some of the ancient emotional cultures. Mustapha Kemal has made a rather daring attempt to build up for himself autocratic authority while at the same time he has destroyed the old religious sanctions of the Caliphate, which gave to the ruler of Turkey an absolute authority as representative of the prophet. History seems to show that while an individual can build up such authority by personal popularity, an au-

tocratic government which has no other basis is doomed to ultimate failure.

It would seem then that democracy is not a safe government for the world, but only for a limited number of its inhabitants. The rest still need the old autocratic control and emotional cultures. In their government of Africa the British have recognized this principle. In Tanganyika the Germans sought to break up the power of the chiefs and to substitute a rule by fear and force. The natives were to be ruled not by their own laws but by the white man's law. The British have just reversed all this. They realize that through ages of emotional culture the chief has acquired vast authority over his people who regard him as a superior being with supernatural powers. Instead of breaking up this authority it is possible to use it for good government, by standing behind the chiefs and ruling through them. The author was present at a meeting of the Governor of Tanganyika with a number of native sultans and chiefs, in which the Governor told them that it had been decided to restore the authority of the chiefs and to permit them to rule their people through their own courts according to native law, save that crimes deserving the death penalty should be tried before the government courts. In the meantime the sons of chiefs are being educated in special schools where they learn how to direct wisely the economic and social development of their people. In South Africa where the natives have been so educated that they doubt the superior authority of the chief, and where the tribes have been broken up by recruiting for labor, this method is impossible. In the Transkei an effort is being made to establish a native government by representative councils of the elders. In Natal and the Transvaal, where the number of natives greatly exceeds that of the whites, the natives are not allowed a voice in the government, while in Cape Colony they are permitted to vote. The race problem of Africa is far greater than that of America, and it may be some time before complete democracy is a safe government for that continent. The problems of India are as great though

different in character. Through the system of the Dyarchy the British are giving the natives more and more share in the government as they increase in education and in the ability to govern themselves. There also the British rule as far as possible through the native princes.

In general it may be said that it proves far wiser to rule with the aid of emotional cultures long in use than to try to break them up and to govern without them. Nothing seems to prove so disastrous as the attempt to replace old autocratic cultures with a democracy where there has been no preparation for it in the character or culture of the people.

Democracy has been too much regarded as a panacea for human ills. It was assumed that when autocratic government with all its abuses was removed, the people would be found thoroughly capable of governing themselves. The Anarchists and Communists failed for the reason that they assumed that man was a being with the social instincts of the bee. Man has not yet reached that point of development. It is possible by the right culture to produce and maintain almost any emotion in him, but if left to himself he manifests those individualistic feelings and desires which break up unity and end in chaos and warfare. Democracy is based on the assumption that men are intelligent and that when the general good is shown them they will work together for it. But man is not yet governed by intelligence any more than he is controlled by social instincts. His feelings and desires are still the controlling force; if he is to be successfully governed it must still be done by educating and cultivating his emotions. When this is correctly done we need no longer fear the failure of democracy.

2. THE EMOTIONAL TRANSFORMATION ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRACY

The preceding chapters have sought to demonstrate how great is the difference between the old empires and autocracies and the modern fratriarchal state. The problem of

the primitive civilization was to unite men by holding them obedient to the will of one man; that of the modern state is to create a common will in all citizens. The ancient state developed a sense of unity in its citizens by dramatizing their common origin; the modern state must unify its citizens by winning them to a common purpose. The unity of the autocracy is from the past, that of the democracy is in the future. The patriarchal state secured united action by cultivating reverence and awe for the authority of the king as the representative of the common ancestor or god; the democracy must achieve the same end by uniting the wills of all in a common purpose either by cupidity and fear or by enthusiasm and devotion. The stability of an autocracy depends on the attitude of reverence or awe on the part of the masses toward the king, that of a democracy depends on the loyalty of the citizens to their mutual agreement or constitution. Loyalty to a king can be obtained by the cultivation of emotions easily awakened in any man, since they are of a personal character. Loyalty to a constitution depends on the sense of honor of the citizens, and is much more difficult to achieve. The autocracy holds together by the sense of unity of each man with his fellow. An autocracy cannot be replaced by a democracy until there has been a radical emotional transformation in its citizens. Nothing is more dangerous than to give the forms of a democracy to a people without its spirit. It is like giving over the body of a bird to be directed by the soul of an earthworm.

The religion and whole emotional culture of the patriarchal state was exactly adapted to produce the feelings essential to its unity and success. In a democratic state there are no intelligently directed emotional cultures, and such as exist are either survivals from patriarchal systems like the Roman Church and work against democracy, or are independent and antagonistic and cause division, as do the Protestant sects.

Without any definite emotional culture, the American nation has been held together until a certain habit of united action was formed. Some may consider that this is sufficient

and that the nation may now hold together by mere inertia. As we study the history of the past and see the tremendous effects produced by suitable emotional cultures, we cannot but feel that it is possible to create cultures adapted to the forms of a democracy which would add a hundredfold to the power of the nation and prevent the great evils of political corruption and disregard of the law that now seem to be creeping over us like an insidious disease. The tendency to disregard law is only too noticeable among people who come to a fratriarchal country from a patriarchal system where they have always been held under the culture of reverence. One often hears protests from members of the younger generation among the Italians or Poles or Russian Jews when the parents try to enforce the old ideas of reverence for custom or ceremonial. "Those things are all right in the old country," they say, "but they are no good in America." The old culture is removed before there is any other to take its place. A large proportion of our criminals are found among these youths who are "between two stools." They have ceased to respect the commands of their parents, because they consider them un-American, but they have not been trained in the emotional culture which makes the Anglo-Saxons a law-abiding race in spite of their fratriarchal system. It is surprising how law-abiding such foreigners are, when one considers that all the barriers that have held their race in obedience for centuries are here suddenly removed. One would expect an explosion under such circumstances, and that there is not, is due to the efforts that are being made to train them in American feelings. Unfortunately we have no system as thorough as those worked out through the centuries by patriarchal states. The Czarist system of Russia was marvellous in its power to develop reverence for the government, and it is doubtful if another patriarchal method as generally efficacious as that of the Roman Church can possibly be devised. It knows how to develop a reverence for authority mingled with utter devotion which few other churches can attain. It understands how to create a carapace of prejudice about the ideas

it implants in the minds of the young, so that no argument or temptation can change them. The fratriarchal system cannot use this strong emotion of reverence for authority nor the culture of prejudice without endangering its most fundamental principles. They are essentials in the patriarchal system, but are as dangerous to democratic ideals as free thought is to the older system.

Let us then consider what emotion can be used in a fratriarchal state, to secure the enforcement of law. To understand how to do this we must first find out how law is regarded in a fratriarchal state and what it really is. In the patriarchal system law is promulgated by prophets, priests, and kings as the command of God, and is regarded as sacred and inviolable. Obedience can therefore be enforced by cultivating reverence for supreme authority.

In a democratic state the final authority is with the people. Law really represents the codification of a majority vote. We have here, therefore, nothing that is sacred and inviolable, and awe inspiring, like the Old Testament picture of the Ten Commandments. It is difficult to regard a majority vote with the same reverence and awe that are inspired by a king or a God. The phrase, *Vox populi, vox dei*, was an attempt to transfer the attitude of reverence to popular government, but it has never succeeded, possibly because of the difficulty in establishing a religious or emotional culture in which the popular majority should be sincerely worshipped as representing God. We do accept the divine authority of the majority, but in a very general way. We believe as Lincoln expressed it, that "you can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." Democracy believes that the safest and surest road to progress is to select as leader the man from among the people whom the majority want to follow and to make only such laws as are approved by the majority at least. Like the *amœba*, the mass of the people pushes a certain section of itself forward and the rest follows sluggishly. Leadership determines in what direction the mass will move, but it must

have behind it the will of the majority. Laws are a fence built behind us as we advance, to keep us from falling back into savagery, and to keep up the stragglers who are always trying to turn back to the manners and morals of the cave man. If this fence of law is built so close behind us that half the population remain outside of it in their opinion and custom, it is likely to be broken down and to cause general disaster. Law in democracy is, therefore, a sort of movable adjustment. It expresses the will of the people as to what they want to exclude from their community. At first, in fratriarchal communities, it was executed by a mob, who fell upon the man who offended them or broke their traditions, and tore him in pieces. Democratic law replaces mob law and differs from it, in that it is the expression not of momentary excitement, but of race experience and traditions extending over centuries. To hold its own, it has to provide a punishment sufficiently severe to satisfy the resentment that any group feels when the standards upon which its unity and happiness depend, are violated. Otherwise men take the law into their own hands and feuds, lynchings, and murders result. On the other hand, the punishment must not be more severe than public sentiment warrants. The codified opinion of the majority must, therefore, be the law of any fratriarchal community. It is evident that when one takes for supreme authority such a changeable and uncertain thing as majority opinion, which, by its nature, is not exalted above man but must represent the mediocre, any culture of awe in its presence, or reverence for its laws is almost impossible. Nor is it advisable, for the success of fratriarchal government depends on its ability to change its leadership and its laws as it progresses, and any such atmosphere of awe before authority and law prevents change, and gradually transforms the government to a patriarchal system. This changing of public opinion as we progress creates a constant difficulty in enforcing law; men are continually protesting against old laws as unjust and out of date, and turning against the new laws they have just created. The main difficulty, however, is with those

who do not belong to the majority. These may be either individuals who wish to gain wealth and happiness by taking what they can lay hands on by force without regard to law, or they may belong to a minority group which was outvoted when the law was passed and who break it whenever they have the opportunity. Minority groups to-day do not ordinarily take up arms against a law they disapprove and thus produce an insurrection. They are content to pretend acquiescence or to break the law as they have opportunity. Such lawbreakers, the groups as well as the individuals, are, of course, harmful in many ways, and the great problem of fratriarchal government is to know how to deal with them. Where groups opposed to a law are sectional, the difficulty may be avoided by local option,—that is by allowing each section to make its own laws as far as possible, and by not attempting to enforce a law in any section until there is at least a majority sentiment in its favor. This cannot be done in cases where the action of one section affects the whole nation, but it is generally applied in the case of minor laws. The real difficulty cannot be solved by adjustments in the mechanism of government, and we must turn back to the original question and discover if there are any emotions that may be used in a fratriarchal state to prevent lawbreaking. If a man has determined to break the law if he can, it is necessary to restrain him by fear of punishment. The difficulty with this emotion as a preventive of lawbreaking is that it deters men from getting caught rather than from breaking the law, and creates a general opinion that “anything is all right if you can get by with it.” It does not take the place of the patriarchal reverence for the law itself, which a man well trained in the old system will no more break than he will smash the altar of his church. England, with all her democracy in *making* law, has preserved this patriarchal culture of the Kingship to *enforce* it, and one has only to cross the Canadian line to feel the different attitude toward law. When a Canadian mounted policeman enters a mining or lumber camp where a free fight is going on among men maddened by drink, and

commands order "in the king's name," these men obey because they feel behind him that stupendous thing, the Law, which speaks in the name of king and God, and which stretches out a shadowy arm over all the earth. It is awe before this which compels obedience, rather than fear of a policeman's club or gun. And this awe has practically ceased to exist in the United States. There are those who would seek to restore it, and it is the aim of certain churches to-day to build up this attitude of reverence for authority and awe before the law. As stated above, it is very questionable whether such a culture would not work to the detriment of our institutions. The British have succeeded in combining an attitude of awe toward the law with a most critical and irreverent attitude toward the men who make the law, which gives their government the needed flexibility. But this very extraordinary and apparently irrational duplex attitude is probably a hangover from ancient emotional cultures, and may not long endure in an age of democratic criticism. Certainly it would seem impossible for America to cultivate it without the age-long tradition of the Kingship. Is there any emotion, then, that a fratriarchal government can use to replace this sentiment of reverence for law?

3. THE SENSE OF HONOR

One can often learn much from the study of children and it may pay us to observe them in our quest. They are taught by the patriarchal system to obey authority and keep the rules made by their parents, and they obey insofar as they respect or reverence those who are over them. But in playing together they make their own rules and obey them with exemplary strictness, although there is no authority over them, and nothing for which they feel reverence. How is this really extraordinary result accomplished? If we can understand it we may find the culture essential to fratriarchal government. Children realize, of course, that unless they have rules, their sports are chaotic and "there is no fun." If games are won unfairly, they lose their interest,

and so there is insistence on keeping the rules. Now an individual is often tempted to cheat in the games. What deters him? In the first place, there is the fear of the opinion of the crowd. This, of course, acts rather to make him want to avoid the *discovery* of an infringement, than to deter him from breaking the rule itself. This respect for the opinion of their group is a very powerful directing emotion in children, both as a stimulus, in the form of love of approbation, and as a deterrent, in the form of shame or fear of ridicule. It might be used with greater effect in all fraternal groups. No one likes to have his little transgressions of the traffic regulations or prohibition laws blazoned in the press if it is accompanied by ridicule and contumely. People probably would not break even the customs laws if they knew they would be discovered at the dock, and laughed at and despised by all their fellow passengers. The pillory was perhaps a correct emotional culture for democratic groups. To hold a breaker of law up to the ridicule and contempt of his peers would probably prove a powerful deterrent, and we need some modern equivalent of the stocks. Unfortunately the press, instead of holding up a criminal to ridicule and indignation, seems to create a sort of hero culture about him, and young men are actually led into crime by the way in which our papers present it as a sort of daring and heroic act with a successful "get away." When convicted, so much pity and sympathy are lavished upon them that poor men who are making a desperate struggle to be honest under starvation conditions, and who receive no sympathy or help from the public, are often embittered by it. Even if this culture of public reprobation could be successfully applied, it would still act only to deter men from crimes where they expect discovery. It would not replace the old reverence for the law itself, which produced such surprising cases of remorse in those who broke it secretly.

Now we find that among children rules are obeyed even when this influence of public opinion is not felt, at least in the usual way. For example, there are the cases in which

the minority is dissatisfied with a decision accepted by the majority. This frequently occurs in a ball game where, in spite of a decision of the umpire, which a moiety of the players and spectators consider unfair, the game goes on. Now this is a great achievement and was not done in a day. What is it among boys that holds minorities in obedience to majority rules and decisions even under violent emotional stress? If you ask them why they didn't break up the game, they will say, "That wouldn't have been being a good sport." If you ask a boy why he didn't cheat when there was no chance of detection, he will give the same answer. Now it would seem as if we had here the emotion we need,—one which has to do with breaking the rule and not with the mere discovery of the act, and yet an emotion which is strong enough to prevail under great emotional stress. It is a modern development of the old sense of honor, a form of pride, perhaps, but one which has great social value, and an emotion which can be cultivated until it will hold its own against any other desires and passions. One of the most encouraging things to-day is the way in which this emotion or spirit of good sportsmanship is being developed among our boys. It is a fundamental in all their clubs and sports, and some of the large organizations such as the Boy Scouts are so intelligently directed for the purpose of developing it that they may be regarded as emotional cultures. Girls, until recently, were regarded as entirely impervious to this emotion, and as too inherently individualistic ever to be influenced by it. Those among the younger set who participate in sports seem to be rapidly acquiring this feeling, however, and there is no reason why it should not become increasingly dominant. Now it was suggested in a previous chapter that this feeling or spirit of good sportsmanship had been especially developed by the Anglo-Saxon race, and that this was one reason why fratriarchal government, which depends on the acceptance of majority decisions as law, had succeeded among them, when it seemed to fail elsewhere. This conjunction of democratic government with good sportsmanship was a matter of chance and no direct

effort has been made to use the culture of this feeling in connection with citizenship. In fact, it is doubtful if its importance has ever been noted. It seems evident, however, that if a sense of good sportsmanship could be so developed in every American citizen that he would keep the rules of the game and abide by majority decisions even when they operate detrimentally to him, until he could change them by the methods the law allows, our problem would be solved. This particular feeling is so difficult to cultivate, however, that it has been supposed to be the distinguishing mark of a small group, who were known as gentlemen, and the idea of inculcating it in the common herd has been regarded as impossible. Nevertheless, if all our citizens were obliged to go through such a system of culture as that provided by the Boy Scouts, before they were allowed to vote, we would undoubtedly see a marked improvement in the keeping of the laws. This feeling is especially adapted to the fratriarchal government, because it insures the keeping of law not from any fear of punishment or of reverence for authority, nor yet because of any respect for the law itself, which may be changed by agreement at any moment. Moreover, its urge is not toward escaping discovery, but toward avoiding the breaking of the law itself.

This sense of honor is important not only to prevent the disregard of law and to aid in its enforcement. It is also as fundamental to the sense of unity in a democracy as the feeling of reverence was in an autocracy.

In a patriarchal system the basis of unity was family relationship and it was necessary to dramatize continually the relation of the people to their common ancestor or god, and to develop reverence for him and for his representative the king. Ancient democracies kept this culture of the sense of unity of the people with their god, but in the modern fratriarchal system the sense of unity comes not from the common origin of the people, who are frequently most diverse in character, but from a common purpose, such as war or defense, in which all their wills unite. Such a sense of unity is necessarily variable and ephemeral and disappears when its occasion is past.

In order to hold men together when the sense of unity developed under the emotional stress of warfare is no longer present, the mutual agreement came into being. The various groups of Swiss patriots bound themselves by an oath to stand by one another in time of danger. The constitution of our modern states are elaborations of this primitive oath. They bind the citizens to stand by one another in obedience to certain rules and methods of government and in the effort to attain a certain purpose or ideal for the nation. In such cases when the emotional drive of danger or warfare is absent, there is usually no powerful sense of unity between the citizens who may be of different races and languages. The sole link that holds them in unity in the interim between their common enterprises is their mutual agreement. This in turn depends upon the sense of honor. Without this feeling, a man will keep the agreement only when it is to his advantage and will break any of its obligations when he sees an opportunity to get the best of his fellows.

This mutual agreement is the supreme essential in a democracy. The whole system of government and law is based upon it, and this is the reason why it must always fail among a people where a sense of honor of a peculiar type has not been developed. People who are used to the tyrannies of an autocracy will not ordinarily keep the laws when they are not watched, or do a fair day's work when they might be idle, and are therefore harmed by democracy. They do not understand the agreement and have no sense of honor to keep them true to its spirit. The Anglo-Saxon culture, imperfect though it was in many ways, seemed to succeed in producing a class of men who had this quality. There was in them a powerful emotional drive which impelled them to keep faith with one another, to stand by an agreement no matter what the cost, and to regard themselves as held not by its mere letter, but by its spirit, so that they could not take advantage of any slip in its phrasing but would hold to what they felt to be a fair interpretation of its meaning. It is this group of men that made democ-

racy safe in England and America, and it becomes unsafe as soon as it falls into the hands of men without this quality. For Anglo-Saxon democracy is an agreement which leaves the utmost possible liberty to the individual with the minimum of regulation, because it trusts him in honor to be more just than he could be compelled to be. Men without honor will take advantage of the security and prosperity of the democracy and will plunder the man of honor while his hands are tied by his agreement and laugh at him in their sleeve. When they share in the government they disregard their pledge to seek the public good and each man seeks only profit for himself, and in business, each man, having no justice and honor in himself, seeks to defraud his neighbor as he can while yet remaining within the letter of the law.

The most important thing for a democracy, then, is to institute an emotional culture which will develop a sense of honor in the youth of the country as effectively as the Egyptian religion and the mediæval church created reverence and awe in the minds of the masses. Theoretically, no new candidate should be admitted to citizenship until he has given evidence that he possesses a sense of honor, and any citizen who commits a dishonorable act should thereby be disqualified for citizenship. This would naturally result in two orders or classes in the population,—those who have not yet developed a sense of honor and responsibility, who would be under patriarchal law and government, and those possessed of these qualities who would constitute the citizenry. This, of course, is the situation in every family, where the children are under patriarchal rule until they acquire a sense of responsibility and of honor and can thus be taken into the family councils. It may be objected that such a government would be an oligarchy rather than a democracy. But so long as it was open to any man to qualify as a citizen when he showed the requisite development, it could never be a closed oligarchy of the tyrannical type.

As it is unlikely that such a change can be effected in our modern democracies, it is the more important to con-

centrate all energies on the creation of emotional culture that will produce the necessary character in as many of our citizens as possible.

4. PUBLIC SPIRIT

We have spoken thus at length of the sense of honor, since it is the corner-stone of democracy, which can only be a disastrous and lamentable failure without it. It is this feeling which must hold men to that obedience to law which is essential to unity, even when such obedience is irksome and disadvantageous.

It has been shown that while in a patriarchal government the sense of unity depends on the consciousness of a common origin, and the feeling that all are the children of one father or God; in a fratriarchal community the sense of unity should be that direct feeling of oneness between the members that we call brotherhood, or, in lesser degree, public spirit. Without this latter feeling, it is harmful rather than helpful for a man to feel that he is a member of a democracy. An unintelligent and indiscriminate application of the culture of Christianity which has caused men to feel that they are all children of God and equal in his sight, has enabled even the most ignorant and degraded man of any race or tribe to feel that he should be recognized as a part of the universal brotherhood with a full right to share in all its honors and emoluments. This is a purely patriarchal sense of unity derived from the idea of a common origin solely, and most disastrous when applied to a democracy. Primitive Christianity made it evident that a man could not enter the Kingdom of God on the basis of any hereditary right. He must be born again and acquire that spirit of brotherhood which causes every man to feel so at one with his neighbors that he will work for their good as for his own, and even lay down his life to aid them in their distress. This is the feeling of unity which should be cultivated as the basis of every democracy.

Later Christianity, under patriarchal auspices, has ap-

parently developed the feeling in men that they are part of the Brotherhood of the children of God, and can claim all its privileges merely because they are human beings and without entering into the spiritual relationships which alone make real brotherhood possible.

It is perhaps the influence of this pseudo-Christian culture upon the world that has put it into the mind of undesirable and alien types of humanity to assert that they are Americans and to insist on being considered such. What is needed apparently is not a culture to make men feel that they are united with the American people in the sense that they share all the rights and privileges of citizenship. This they feel only too readily. Our need is for a culture like that of Primitive Christianity that will make men feel that they really *are* one, so that they suffer in one another's pain and rejoice in the pleasure of others. With this direct feeling of unity between all citizens, democracy could not but succeed.

5. THE CULTURE OF A COMMON IDEAL

It was stated that in addition to the sense of honor and public spirit there was a third emotional culture of value in a democracy, namely,—that which unites the citizens in a common purpose. We have shown that this was probably the earliest means of unifying the fratriarchal group, which was held together by some purpose of warfare or plunder in which all united. Such purposes were temporary in nature and the groups tended to break up when the emergency that created them was past. As stated above, the mutual agreement was a means designed to perpetuate such a group when the emotions that had created it were no longer active. It is evident that if a group could unite upon a purpose which was permanent and not temporary it might be possible to sustain indefinitely the unifying emotion. Such a permanent purpose is frequently termed an ideal. When the members of a group unite upon an ideal or permanent purpose for the group, it is possible to create a culture which will keep their enthusiasm for the ideal and

devotion to it warm enough to hold them together in an effective unity.

Such groups as the orders of Knighthood and the various religious orders had such a group ideal which was continually brought before them by a ritual calculated to stir the emotions. These ideals were not however applicable to a nation. It is important to note that both the Jewish and the Christian church looked forward to such an ideal for the nation or state, which they called the Messianic Kingdom or the *Civitas Dei*, and a part of their culture was devoted to unifying their minds in the achievement of this goal. The Christian Church to-day looks forward to the coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth and endeavors to unite its adherents in the effort to realize this ideal. In their ideal for the American Commonwealth its founders undoubtedly took over much from the conception of the church. They worked together to create a state where justice, brotherhood, and peace should reign, and this common purpose helped to unify them.

It should therefore be possible for the church to supply an emotional culture which should so present the ideal of the American State to its citizens as to rouse their enthusiasm and devotion and hold them together in the great endeavor to create a nation where there should be justice and fair play for all, where all unnecessary pain and privation should be eliminated, where mutual sympathy and understanding should reign between all classes, and where the strong would seek not to dominate and exploit the weak, but to aid and strengthen them.

The church has in some measure lost the confidence of the average citizens, because instead of seeking to create such a state each sect has endeavored to win or force all men to accept its own creed or to take part in its own ceremonies, and has taught that by such means they became members of the Kingdom of God. In this effort justice, mercy, and truth have often been forgotten and men have been taught that it was sufficient to assent to some formula about the person and power of Christ. Since these formulæ

and ceremonials differed in different sects, strife and prejudice have been the result rather than harmony and sympathy. Moreover, the church has directed its efforts more against individual sins such as intoxication and sexual vice than against those which affect industrial and political conditions and the general welfare of the people. There are at present indications of a return in the churches to an ideal of the Kingdom of God which would be more applicable to the American Republic. If the Jewish and Roman and Protestant churches would all unite in presenting the Kingdom of God to American citizens as an ideal to be realized in this republic, and would create an emotional culture which would generate and maintain devotion to this purpose and unity in it, we should then have no fear for the future of the state. Since this is a vital part in the programme of each church, it would seem that it should be possible to lay down a programme which would be acceptable to each and which it might follow out in accordance with its own method.

6. POSSIBLE ADAPTATIONS FROM ANCIENT CULTURES

There may be those who will hold that in the world of to-day no emotional culture should be necessary and an appeal to the intelligence should be sufficient. There are also those who hold with Tolstoi that government by force should be unnecessary. If men had the social instincts of bees there would be no difficulty in building up a civilization dependent on their co-operation, but, with men as they are, some sort of government seems to be necessary, both to hold in check their individualistic passions and impulses, so that they do no harm and cause no divisions, and to compel those who are idle and selfish to do their share in working for the benefits in which they participate. To be of any value at all the commands and laws of government must be reinforced by emotions which are strong enough to counteract the primitive selfish impulses or those will prevail and create crime and chaos. Moreover, experience seems to prove that these emotions which support government must

be stabilized and made permanent by some emotional culture. But it is true that the amount of government which is necessary and the type of emotional culture which must be used depend upon the degree of social feeling which has been developed by the group.

Those among whom the social emotions are strong naturally need less government and can be given more liberty. The government must be carefully adapted to the character and emotional development of the people, and so far from outgrowing emotional cultures it would seem to be true that even the old patriarchal cultures are still needed in the world to-day. To declare democracy a panacea because it works well in one instance, is absurd. We have tried to show that nothing is more disastrous than to apply democracy to a people who have not developed social initiative, public spirit, and sense of honor, and among whom every position of trust is regarded only as an opportunity for personal gain. A railway official in India told the author that the men appointed to open the gates on the grade crossings were found to be making their fortune by keeping the gates closed and opening them only on payment of a fee. The Irrigation Commission in Egypt stated that when a native was intrusted with the administration of the water supply in a district, he would shut off the water from the land of any one who did not hand over a personal fee. Where every one acts on this principle, it is evident that the old-fashioned patriarchal supervision and punishment is essential to the public welfare. This is apparently the conclusion of Mussolini in Italy. If there is to be a patriarchal government, it is foolish to criticise a leader for undemocratic acts. We have endeavored to show that to permit any criticism of a patriarchal ruler or any divergence of opinion from his dictum is a fatal error. He must find some culture or state religion which will present him as a representative of God and which will cultivate awe and reverence for him. To allow any rival religion or culture or any divergence of opinion is fatal to the public welfare. If a people have shown themselves incapable of democracy their leader should not

be criticised for constructing as effective a patriarchal government as he can and for creating a wall of prejudice and fear to exclude every alien or democratic idea, which would only weaken the government and cause division and revolution with benefit to no one.

The difficulty with the dictatorship as a solution for groups that are proved incapable of democracy is that it provides no regulated succession, and it is almost certain to precipitate a revolution at the death of the dictator.

A second method of dealing with groups not yet capable of democratic rule is to put them under the tutelage of some democratic nation until they develop the necessary capacity. This is what has been done with the Philippines and with Cuba, and England has a number of such dependencies on her hands. In India a definite progressive scheme has been worked out by which the natives are to receive more power as they show greater capacity. The mandates of the League of Nations are arrangements of this type. Unfortunately, it is generally held that what these nations in tutelage need is more knowledge of democracy, and no one seems to have perceived that what they require is feeling and character rather than knowledge. If emotional cultures were provided which would produce public spirit, initiative, and a sense of honor and responsibility in all the youth, the Philippine problem would soon be solved.

As has been noted, democracy has proved fairly successful in those nations where social emotions have been developed and all that is needed is to see that such cultures are installed as will insure the growth of the essential emotions. The problem is to find just what cultures are adapted to our present needs. In our review of the various nations we have seen that there are elements in their culture which are suggestive and of possible value to us to-day. The Chinese saw the importance of the various relationships on which the social order was based and constructed a culture of ceremonial to develop those emotions which were felt to be essential. In this age there is constant complaint that the fundamental relationships of the family are giving way,

but no one apparently has thought of applying the Chinese idea. Their culture was patriarchal and would not suit our democratic ideas, and probably no general culture would avail. But if each newly married couple sought to build up about their relationship a private culture that would express and perpetuate in beautiful forms their feeling for one another there might be fewer divorces. Few seem to realize either how essential emotion is to a successful relationship, or how easy it is to cultivate and maintain it, if the proper means are found. Among people of marked individuality each would have to find the emotional expression suited to him. What would be natural to one would be sentimental and foolish to another. The important matter is to recognize this discovery of the Chinese that since emotion is unstable and variable, if it is to be used in social construction it must be cultivated by giving it regular and frequent expression in beautiful forms. The same holds true of the relation between parents and children. It is quite possible to give parental and filial affection permanent or regular expression in beautiful forms. In former times the feeling of family unity was maintained by frequent family gatherings both at morning prayers and in festivals in which the family traditions were emphasized. It is quite possible to replace these forms by making more of family gatherings on Thanksgiving and Christmas, and by seeking to develop some beautiful cultus which would express in poetry or music or symbolism of some kind the family feeling and tradition. Foreigners are often seen gathered for family picnics in the parks on Sunday, but Americans seem to have a dislike for family functions. It should be possible to maintain family feeling without doing violence to the individualism of the age. We are also suffering at present from the Anglo-Saxon attitude of reticence and suspicion toward all expression of emotion, and there are too many who resemble the New England bridegroom who confided to a friend that he was so fond of his wife that he feared that some day he would do something that would reveal how much he cared for her. Emotion unexpressed and un-

cultivated either dies or is so erratic as to be valueless in social construction, and every individual should give careful thought to cultivating the emotions that are essential to his happiness and to the stability of his family life.

It has been noted that government becomes unnecessary in proportion as the social or unselfish feelings are developed. It is therefore worth while to consider the methods of the Japanese, who have insisted upon the expression of unselfish feelings in a continuous ceremonial that runs through all their social intercourse, until, in many instances at least, a social self has been developed, which is not merely an outward disguise but an inward reality. What has been accomplished in Japan through patriarchal compulsion could be achieved in a democratic community if each individual appreciated the importance of little acts of courtesy and voluntarily undertook to cultivate behavior of this type. It would be quite possible to influence public behavior in this direction through the press and cinema.

There is also another present-day situation to which the old methods of India and Japan might be applied. A certain proportion of our population in their emotional development are prepared for democratic institutions, while a larger proportion seem to lack the character and finer feeling which is essential to successful government of this type. India and Japan met a similar difficulty by surrounding the superior class by a culture of reverence, which enabled them to rule the country and direct its thought, and also caused them to be imitated to some extent by the populace. We have called attention to the fact that the attitude of the British public toward the "gentleman" resembled this culture and had similar beneficial effects, and in the section on colleges we shall speak of the possibility that these institutions might be made the agents in creating a ruling caste which would be democratic in that it was open to all, but aristocratic in maintaining a high standard among its members.

7. CONSCIENTIOUSNESS VERSUS FASTIDIOUSNESS

History is an account of the laboratory in which experiments in civilization have been tried out through the ages and we have attempted in the preceding pages to describe some of these and to suggest the possibility of using them to meet present needs. We have attempted also to show that certain of our present cultures were originally adapted to meet needs that no longer exist. If the culture is merely a rudimentary survival which impedes present progress it is time to do away with it. Most of the old patriarchal cultures which survive in a democracy come under this head. All that seek to make men blindly obedient to an authority upheld by God are out of place. As we have considered the history of our emotional cultures we find that two main lines of influence have come down to us through the ages,—the Hebrew or Semitic, and the Persian or Aryan. No one can exaggerate our debt to the Hebrew prophets, who turned the whole power of the miasma system into ethical channels and used the primitive horror of the broken tabu to keep men true to the finest ethical standards and built up a wall of prejudice to keep their standard intact. In those early days it probably would have been impossible to keep men true to a God who represented the highest moral law in any other way than by the threat of miasmatic disaster. We have suggested that this horror of the broken tabu was the basis of the feeling of guilt and remorse and so comes to be a part of what we call conscience, or conscientious feeling. This is distinctly a patriarchal culture and it is perhaps unfortunate that the morals of a democracy should be based on a culture of this type.

Correlative with the Hebrew culture we have found that of the Aryans. It has been shown that Zoroaster apparently sought to escape from the miasma system. He also attempted to break the miasmatic wall of prejudice that surrounds every primitive group and its customs and religion. He divided men into two groups according as they were social or antisocial in character. Buddha also sought to es-

cape from miasmatic horror as a deterrent from antisocial acts, and substituted the chain of causation, teaching that every good or evil act carried with it its inevitable results. Instead of using a patriarchal barrier of horror he appealed to the desire of the individual for happiness in the future. This is, of course, a method that harmonizes with democracy.

The Persian culture, moreover, emphasized courage and truth, and centred in the sense of honor. We have noted how this culture persisted among men who like the Persians were friends of the horse and the dog, and reappeared in mediæval chivalry and in the attitude of the modern English gentleman. We have also sought to show that this culture was the mainspring of democracy.

The present attitude of democracy is one of resentment toward all authority from that of the father and husband to that of the government and of a Patriarchal God. Modern youth objects to doing right under compulsion, whether that compulsion is force or fear of punishment or dread of hell fire. This is an attitude consistent with the principles of democracy. We have attempted to institute an order based on a forward emotional drive rather than one which is repressive.

Law is the will of the people. It represents what they deem to be wise and what they want. It is the sense of honor and not fear that keeps men obedient when they disagree. It is not strange that the moral law should also change from an arbitrary code enforced from without with threats of hell, to an individual ideal of what is beautiful and noble and desirable in conduct. In a recent article a girl when requested to run off with a man is quoted as saying that she would not go although she had no conscientious feelings about it. When asked why she refused, she replied that she did not know; she supposed it was a matter of fastidiousness. The term is a striking one and is most significant. If the young people of this age are consulted it will be found that a large proportion of them have a dislike for people who are conscientious. They are repelled by acts done from

conscientious motives, and have almost an attitude of contempt for a man who refuses to do wrong on account of conscience. On the other hand fastidiousness is approved. A man who is known to be too fastidious to do an act which is base or ignoble is admired. Now there is undoubtedly real significance in this somewhat singular terminology. Most of those who prefer fastidiousness to conscience do not know why they do so. It seems to be an instinctive feeling. But as one analyzes the term there seems to be in it the key to the situation. Many seem to think of a conscientious man as one who does right because an external standard foreign to himself is being enforced upon him by fear or respect for authority. A fastidious man on the other hand is one who will not do wrong because it would conflict with his own standard of what is fine and beautiful. More than this it is felt that the conduct of the conscientious man, since it is obedience to an external standard, is foreign to his true self and therefore unreal, while that of the fastidious man springs from his own feelings and desires, and is a true and real expression of his personality. If the same results can be accomplished by fastidiousness as by conscience it is evident that we have here a more real product and one perfectly adapted to democracy. All depends, however, on the feelings which have been cultivated in our youth. If their feelings and their standards of beauty are fine, then all is well. It would therefore seem that the old patriarchal Semitic culture is beginning to fail, and that instead of trying to enforce it would perhaps be wiser to do all that is possible to develop the Aryan culture of the sense of honor, and of the love of beauty. If men can no longer be deterred from evil by a sense of horror and a fear of hell, it is at least possible to show as Buddha did the inevitable consequences of every act and to seek to make all men feel the happiness that follows in the wake of kindly and noble deeds. It is to be hoped that if a class of young men, fastidious in the right sense, were once developed, it would find its imitators and through some sort of Samurai culture would make its influence felt throughout the land.

Lincoln Steffens quotes a conversation with the well-known Chuck Connors, saloon keeper and politician of Chatham Square. Connors was asked his definition of a gentleman and replied, "A gentleman is a man what can't do no wrong." This was taken as a satiric remark until Chuck explained, "You see he can't do no wrong because he don't want to do no wrong." This may be taken as an illustration of the fastidious man, and of his possible influence in unexpected quarters. Whether this is the correct line to follow or not, it seems sufficiently evident that some culture consonant with democracy must be found as a basis for the morals of our youth if we are to avoid shipwreck in the future.

CHAPTER VI

MODERN EMOTIONAL CULTURES

I. ESTABLISHED ATTITUDES

WE have found that civilization was dependent on developing certain attitudes which preserve its unity. Each attitude is based on an idea and reinforced by emotion developed through some ceremonial or emotional culture. The attitude of the British subjects who sang the praises of Henry the Eighth while being decapitated at his command, was based on the idea that he was the representative of God, and the emotion of reverence that strengthened that attitude had been cultivated by numberless ceremonials.

Now it may be supposed that, after many centuries of cultivation, some at least of these attitudes would become established and so instinctive that they would no longer need cultivation. It must be admitted that a civilized man is quite a different being emotionally from the primitive cave man, and that although the old savage passions may not yet be entirely atrophied, they are so overlaid by attitudes cultivated through the ages as to be seldom visible. There is undoubtedly more rapid emotional development of this sort than we realize. When Walter de Brienne was podesta of Florence in the period just before the Medicis, the citizens became infuriated with him and two of his underlings for robbing and plundering them, and besieged him, demanding that these hated officers should be thrown out to them. Thinking to pacify them de Brienne sent out to them the innocent son of one of these officials. The people seized him and tore him to fragments with their teeth. Florence was presumably the most civilized city of the Western world, but it would be hard to find any city in the world to-day where such an act of primitive savagery would be possible.

The effect of the cultures of civilization has been even more marked upon women than upon men. For the success of the patriarchal family it was necessary to develop in women an attitude not only of complete submission to husband and father, but even of joyous self-abnegation. J. L. Davies in his *Short History of Women*, shows how this attitude was produced by constant application of the idea that women were a source of miasma and of great danger and harm to men, and therefore deserved to be excluded from the affairs of men, and to be treated with contumely. Centuries of this culture resulted in making women so conscious of their unworthiness that they were grateful for any notice from man and even accepted blows with gratitude. Thus was produced the ideal feminine character of the eighteenth century,—a delicate female of highest sensibility divorced from all contact with the rough world of man, who while accepting his adoration for her as an angelic being, yet recognized her inferiority to him in all practical respects and who felt that her chief duty and privilege was to submit to his every whim and to be grateful for his favor. This attitude was so firmly established that women themselves despised and shunned any other woman who showed signs of strength and independence and intellect.

In view of the evident effects of these cultures on human character there may be those who hold that the essential attitudes have been sufficiently developed and that what is now needed is merely an appeal to intelligence. This might be the case if there had not been such a radical change in our social organization, that the attitudes developed under the patriarchal system are now useless if not detrimental. Nothing could be more antagonistic to the democratic spirit than the attitude of women just described. The fact that most of the institutions now in existence are patriarchal and repressive in character is one of the causes of the intense individualism among people of democratic outlook. It was undoubtedly because of the harmfulness of the patriarchal attitudes that Rousseau recommended a return to the primitive savage. The individualist feels that member-

ship in any group means that some repressive patriarchal influence will be brought to bear upon him. This is not necessarily true. All the best character development is achieved by aid of the group. Permanent groups or institutions are the depositories of the finest standards and noblest traditions and the means of kindling the highest emotions. While the group can be used repressively to mould an artificial character, it can also be used to transmit a vital spark, to kindle enthusiasm for the highest ideals and to secure co-operation in attaining them. Even the most ardent individualists have usually gained their first inspiration from some group and without such association they stray off into vagaries and their best efforts are dissipated and lost to the world. We shall speak later of the importance of the small group in social development.

While certain of the attitudes produced by past cultures are harmful, others are still of undoubted value, and it is most important to distinguish those that are still needed by civilization.

America in particular is the meeting ground of emotional cultures of all types, and there has resulted an emotional chaos such as never existed in the world before. In the recent play "Processional" the author has apparently sought to show how this process has resulted in an emotional pot-pourri of which he has made jazz music the symbol. The characters of the play, for the most part children of foreigners, torn from the background of a stable national or family culture are at the mercy of every passing emotional breeze or jazz tune that strikes them, and respond instinctively to the emotional appeal of every group with which they come in contact. The destructive frenzy of the strikers, the militarism of the soldiers, the patriotism of the stump orator, the pathos of the Mothers' Day ceremonial, the mysterious terror of the Ku Klux and the appeal of sex, all carry the unfortunate youth of the nation hither and yon as their limbs dance instinctively to the rhythm of the jazz, until instead of the well-ordered social life with its fine traditions and beautiful symbolism which characterized the

old-time nations, we have only a hideous meaningless chaos. While the picture is exaggerated, it is a warning of the danger to which we are subjected by the varied and unregulated emotional cultures of to-day. It must be dangerous to take men from an ordered life where behavior is regulated by ancient cultures and from a background of sacred associations and hallowed sanctions and expose them to such emotional incoherence. It is important to take some note of the various cultures now in operation and to determine which of them are no longer necessary since the attitudes they promote are sufficiently established,—and which are actually detrimental to the public welfare. Among these we may find many like those that have so affected the attitude of women, which were once of some value to society, but are now distinctly harmful. We may also find some which although they originated under the patriarchal system may yet be adapted to serve our present needs.

In the first place it is well to note those attitudes which have become so well established that we regard them as the characteristics of a civilized man. When we find that some social act which was once performed under stress of fear or of respect for patriarchal authority is now done because men want to do it or when certain harmful conduct once prevented by fear or by authority is found to be prevented now by dislike or disgust, we know that the need for an artificial emotional culture is done away since the required attitude is established. Many acts common among primitive men have become impossible to the civilized man. In every man there is a barrier of disgust which excludes certain acts. The position of this barrier determines to a large extent the character of the man and this barrier is gradually being moved by civilization until there is a wide space emotionally between the civilized man and the primitive man. King Thakombau of Fiji was informed that one of his chiefs had slandered him and plotted against him. He summoned the chief to his presence and said, "Put forth your tongue. Let me see the tongue that has dared to speak evil of me." When the man put out his tongue the king sliced it

off, swallowed it, and said, "Thus perish the tongue of every man who speaks evil of his chief." The Fijian of that day might need the special culture of Christianity or of some humane society to prevent acts such as this which in a civilized community have become impossible.

In general we may say that the most characteristic attitude of civilization is that of humanity, which involves a sense of universal brotherhood, a sympathy with suffering, and a disgust at cruelty. Acts of cruelty once prevented by law are now prevented by the disgust and dislike for them felt by the average man. The culture of Christianity has helped to spread this feeling through the Western world, and there are few priests and Levites who would now pass by a wounded and dying man with utter indifference. In China such indifference may still be customary, but the progress in the Western world has been so great that a wounded man who once would have been helped only "in His name" or in hope of a heavenly reward, or because of some other emotional culture, would now be aided directly for humanity's sake alone.

The attitude of Sir Philip Sidney expressed in the words, "Thy need is greater than mine," and heralded through the world as characteristic of a rare and noble nature, was repeated a thousand times in the late war by common soldiers, as a matter of course. We may then say that the attitude of sympathy toward suffering has become so well established that no special culture is needed to enforce it. The general sense of brotherhood seems also so well developed that no institution for ancestral worship is needed to maintain it. The belief in universal brotherhood has become so axiomatic that men are continually claiming the equal rights of a brother when they have done nothing to deserve them.

This sense of brotherhood is, however, impeded by certain of the old racial, national and religious cultures, which have inculcated such violent prejudices against people of certain other races or religions that any sense of unity becomes impossible. This is the trouble in Central Europe to-day. The growing sense of world brotherhood and na-

tional unity is broken up by these ancient patriarchal cultures which involve centuries of hatred, bitterness and prejudice, and which are based on the old patriarchal idea of dominating as many men of other races as possible in order to subject them to some one culture. We have endeavored to show that it is possible to create a national culture of a different type which is based on enthusiasm for some national ideal or a fine standard of citizenship, and where competition does not mean to harm or subject other nations but to stimulate and help them. The old patriarchal national and racial cultures should be cleared from the world as a pest. It is they that produce all the wars and friction. The true fraternal national culture would lead men to pursue their own ideals and to aid all other nations in the pursuit of theirs, and would never seek to force any group unwillingly to join their group. There is great need of organized effort to build up this type of national feeling and to destroy the old patriarchal nationalism.

Another attitude which is expressive of universal brotherhood is that of courtesy. This attitude was originally enforced by patriarchal authority, and is still a part of the family training of every well-bred home. But the attitude of consideration for others which lies at its root, seems to be fairly well established and the primitive ruthless disregard of others who stand in the path is becoming obsolete in America even among the common people. The acts of consideration that one observes every day in the streets are very striking when compared with the behavior even of gentlemen a hundred years ago. Culture is needed for the forms of courtesy rather than for its spirit. This spirit does not exist in every land. The author found himself pushed from the sidewalk recently, and turning in surprise to discover the cause, discovered that it was a woman of a foreign nation where the idea of universal brotherhood was unfamiliar, and where courtesy was confined to certain classes and relations.

An attitude of respect for law is one which is characteristic of the average citizen, though it has its notable ex-

ceptions. When one looks at the streets of New York at times when the policemen are absent, and sees how the endless procession of cars roaring by at high speed is controlled and halted by a light twinkling a quarter of a mile away, when one stops to realize the stupendous forces and varied desires thus held in leash by a mere signal, and remembers that in other ages battalions of soldiers could hardly have enforced such order and obedience, one appreciates what an amazing thing the age-long culture of civilization has accomplished. This attitude is not yet universal and still needs reinforcement, and we have spoken elsewhere of the emotions that can be used in a democracy to secure the attitude of respect for law, which was originally inculcated by patriarchal authority.

We have noted that most of our institutions were patriarchal in origin and designed to cultivate the emotions essential to a patriarchal state, and it will be necessary to review them and to determine how far they are capable of adjustment to a democratic world. The Church was pre-eminently patriarchal and designed to cultivate reverence for authority, but certain branches of it are democratic in culture. The university we have found to be democratic in its origin and the school affords perhaps the most hopeful culture for the needs of to-day. The family was essentially patriarchal, and though it must remain so in the government of small children, certain changes are undoubtedly necessary to-day. We shall take up these various cultures in order.

2. THE CHURCH

It has been shown that in the Patriarchal governments religion was the emotional culture which developed the sense of unity which made the state cohere, and the feeling of reverence which caused the laws and rulers to be obeyed. We have also noted that the Christian church starting as a fraternal culture was soon transformed into a culture for the development of reverence and of a sense of unity of the vertical or patriarchal type. The question then sug-

gests itself whether there is any form of the church or of religion which can be used advantageously as a culture for the emotions that are essential to a democracy. The Roman Church proved invaluable as an organ for the culture of world unity of the imperial type, and without it it is doubtful if civilization could have been reconstituted. All its ideas are patriarchal and fundamentally antagonistic to democracy. It upholds a patriarchal God who speaks through his representative the supreme pontiff, in place of the fraternal God of Primitive Christianity whose authority spoke in every inspired man. It asserts the patriarchal idea of Truth as settled for all time by the decision of the Pope and the church, and not determined by the reason of thinking men. It supports government by a representative of God rather than by the will of the people. Finally it seeks to make all men subject to the authority of Rome rather than to that of their own governments. Its influence is therefore likely to hinder rather than help the development of modern democratic nations.

The present situation in Mexico is illustrative of this fact. The government has been driven to protect itself from the efforts of the church to secure temporal control and to reinstate the old patriarchal education and culture, which they feel would inevitably result in the overthrow of democracy. Aaron Saenz, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, states in an interview given in July, 1926, that the question is not religious at all, but political. He says there is in the Church a group "who wish to develop political activities, using the Church as a means thereto, and who aim at the revival of the struggle for the supremacy of the Church over the State, or else, want to place the case of Mexico in the hands of Rome, to be there used as a banner for religious propaganda or proselytism." He goes on to say: "Mexican history shows that all through the times of the Spanish colony, the Church was the vice-royal government's ally in the work of controlling the Mexican people not only politically, but likewise spiritually and materially, by adhering to a policy of temporal domination.

"After the triumph of the revolution and the establishment of constitutional governments, the revolutionary programme was condensed in our political Constitution of 1917. The Church, through its high dignitaries, then started a campaign of opposition to the Mexican Constitution and political organization. Said campaign was invariably tolerated by all revolutionary governments, including that of President Calles, as long as it showed respect to the government and did not encroach upon the latter's authority; but in February of this year, the Church represented by its chief prelates in Mexico addressed a proclamation to the Mexican people, published in the Mexican papers of that day, whereby it disavowed the Constitution, protested against the political organization of the country, and urged the citizens to rise in arms against a Constitution which the Church disowned."

Such a situation is likely to recur whenever the Roman Church acquires sufficient power in a democracy, for its principles are fundamentally opposed to governments by the people. In so far, however, as the Roman Church still cultivates in the individual the feeling of brotherly love and the sense of honor it is of the greatest value. Protestant churches are also of value in so far as they cultivate humanitarian feeling and the sense of honor in individuals. Their harmfulness in a democracy is due to the fact that they have taken over the idea of a Patriarchal God whose authority is vested for all time in some book or creed rather than in the inspired men of the Church. The result of this has been to create division, since each sect claimed the authority of God against the claims of all other sects. It was this attitude which caused the Russian government to seek to expel religion as the most potent cause of strife and prejudice. Recently, however, there has been a tendency toward a more fratriarchal conception of God, which has shown itself in each sect as a willingness to admit the inspiration of God in other sects while still asserting the validity of its own authority. When this idea becomes completely established the worship of God through the culture

of the churches will prove the most powerful agent of fratriarchal unity and civilization instead of the most divisive and destructive. No conception is so well adapted to be the groundwork for the sense of fratriarchal unity and the basis for cultivating the emotions of brotherly love and of the sense of honor as that of the early church that there is "one God above all and through all and in you all." If the church can give to a nation a conviction of the reality of that proposition nothing further would be needed, since the other essentials would follow as necessary corollaries.

The Protestant sects have been criticised as being too much the organs of the bourgeois industrial capitalistic class. This was true for a time. The various state churches represented the patriarchal authorities and their retainers, and the new industrial class as it formed chose the more fratriarchal organization of the sects for *its* religious vehicle, and for a time the Protestant churches opposed all social progress contrary to the interests of that class from which they drew their main constituency. Recently however, the Protestant sects have been in the forefront of the movements for social progress, and the Federation of Churches has brought them all together when action was necessary affecting the welfare of the nation. It has been noted that emotional culture is more potent in small groups of men of similar cultural development, provided that they hold the fratriarchal view of God and do not antagonize one another, and that they are federated for joint action when necessary. If the country were entirely Protestant there would therefore be great hope of developing an emotional culture which would unify the nation and further democracy. There remain, however, the Roman church, and the Jewish church, which embrace a large portion of the population and which are strongly patriarchal and unamalgamable. Both systems supply ideas antagonistic to democracy. American Democracy was founded on the ideas of the Protestant church which, with all its faults, supplied the culture which made fratriarchal government possible, and it is extremely doubtful if our government could con-

tinue to exist under the control either of the Roman or of the orthodox Jewish church. Both of these systems and the Protestant churches regard each other with such mutual suspicion and antagonism that it is necessary to eliminate all religious culture from the public schools and national institutions. As long as this situation remains it would seem as if religion must prove a cause of division and prejudice, and therefore harmful rather than helpful as an emotional culture. If the Roman and Jewish churches would abandon the patriarchal elements which are incompatible with democratic thought and government, it would then be possible to federate them with the Protestant churches, and to create a culture which would develop those emotions without which democracy must fail.

3. ENGLISH SCHOOLS

The institution which next to the church has been the most effective means of emotional culture is the School. Though the primary object was the training of the intelligence, yet even from the earliest times it exercised a powerful emotional influence upon its pupils. It has been shown that certain of the universities were of the nature of guilds, and had their livery and ritual and initiations, and this culture was used to create a strong emotional bias or prejudice against such types of knowledge and character as diverged from those approved by the church and state. Originally the schools were strongly patriarchal in character, but in these groups of young men and boys was the best field for the development of fraternal rule and of the emotion necessary to it.

The British university, and Oxford in particular, has been noted for its power to shape men of the type essential to democratic leadership, and men have been accustomed to go there less for the information they obtained from study than for the qualities acquired by companionship and through the influence of group fellowship. The same may be said of Rugby and Eton. In fact it has been so often asserted that the greatness of England depended upon the

training of the public schools that the statement is trite. It is here that is developed that fine sense of good sportsmanship that leads the typical Englishman to say of any questionable act: "That is not cricket," and thus to dispose of it with finality. The schools in their development of hardness and physical courage and by cultivating contempt for cowardice and weakness have verged upon brutality, but in their culture of that fine sense of honor that has been the backbone of Anglo-Saxon character and the basis for all democratic government too much cannot be said in praise of them. This sense of honor is an emotional product of the group, and comes less from the masters than from the boys themselves who hand it down as a sacred tradition from form to form. Every school seeks to develop a strong "school spirit," which leads the individual to sacrifice himself for the glory of the group and is the germ of that public spirit so essential to the state. While the church has developed the emotions essential to *patriarchal* government and the Kingship, it has been chiefly through the schools that the emotional culture necessary to democracy has been provided. In England their range has been very limited since they have only reached the class known as gentlemen. English democracy could hardly have been a success had not the people been so trained under the patriarchal system to reverence for the "gentleman," that they would pick their leaders and representatives only from that class which had been emotionally trained not to betray a trust, to be just no matter what the cost, and to work for the public welfare without thought of gain as they had toiled for the glory of their school on crew or football eleven. It has been the glory of British rule that although their officials have been at times harsh and contemptuous in their treatment of subject races, all natives have felt implicit trust in their justice and honor. There are complaints from various British dependencies that a new type of man is now being sent out who has not had this training and whom in consequence the natives are learning to distrust. Unless English Society were already well permeated with the ideals of the public

school, it is evident that a Labor Government involving control by a proletariat emotionally untrained would be a great danger to the public welfare.

4. COLLEGES

In America, certain of the colleges and schools have maintained a culture of this sort and many men have gained far more education from the extracurricular group activities of the students than from the instruction of the teachers. For it is in the various sports and the groups devoted to music and drama that they have learned the principles of team work and co-operation and have acquired the sense of responsibility and good sportsmanship and the public spirit that are essential to democracy. The fraternities when rightly directed are agencies whereby the finest traditions of honor and fine feeling are preserved and handed on in a self-perpetuating group. Such a method should be much more effective than that of the British school for it can avail itself of an impressive ritual and initiation in which ideals are emotionally presented, and it gives the opportunity to select a sympathetic group who support one another in condemning all that is dishonorable and in providing a background of fine sensibilities and mutual understanding in the pursuit of their ideal. Unfortunately the fraternities often come under the control of individuals who are lacking in the finest instincts of the gentleman and thus become a means of perpetuating undesirable standards. Recently there has been such an influx into the colleges of men without the finer traditions that it has been difficult to maintain the standards. Some of our best colleges have been obliged to abandon the honor system because so large a proportion of their students were devoid of that sentiment. The leading boys' schools seem better able to maintain an emotional culture of the right sort and are producing a very fine type of character. The disgust or disillusionment of these boys when they first come in contact with the loose standards and lax sense of honor that they meet in some colleges is very noticeable. It is difficult

to produce an emotional culture powerful enough to hold over when a boy enters a group of a different type, and it is rather a tragedy that so many young men who have been trained in the schools and colleges to a fine sense of honor, upon entering business or law or politics, gradually abandon their standards under the pressure of example and competition, and adopt others which at first they viewed with disgust and contempt. Fortunately there remains a large percentage in whom has been cultivated an emotional reaction which may be termed fastidiousness which makes it impossible for them to do anything unjust or ignoble or dishonorable. The hope of the country is in them, and the problem of democracy is to increase their number. If the schools and colleges realized this fact, instead of increasing their numbers until they had so many men of lower standards that an honor system is impossible, they would perhaps reduce their numbers by examinations designed to eliminate the emotionally unfit rather than the intellectually uninformed, until they had a group that would respond to the finest emotional culture. It can certainly be of no gain to a nation to give a fine intellectual equipment to men without a sense of honor or public spirit, who will use their superior cleverness only to take advantage of those less perfectly equipped and educated. If instead of seeking only to train the intellect the colleges could become instruments whereby those young men capable of higher emotional development could be selected and trained to a fine sense of honor, to devotion to the public welfare, to a large humanity and to a capacity for statesmanship, and if it could be agreed that only men thus equipped should be eligible to a share in the government, we should then have the machinery essential to a successful democracy. Such a group of men, recognized throughout the land as the ruling class, would set a standard for all men, and by their example would do much to transform the masses who would copy them, instead of emulating the idle rich and the unscrupulous politician, as they are prone to do to-day. So long as it was open to any man to take such a course and fit himself for government,

there would be no danger of a closed oligarchy or of the tyranny of a small group. In short we should have a democratic application of the principle exemplified by the Brahmin and the Samurai. It is evident that some definite and purposeful emotional culture must be instituted and recognized as an essential part of the training of our democratic rulers if our government is to be saved from reproach.

5. PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND BOY SCOUTS

Nothing in America is more important than the work of the public elementary schools. It is upon these that devolves the duty of teaching the masses of the people the ideals of America and of developing in their children those emotions without which democracy must fail. When one considers that in the leading cities of the East, 70% of the population are foreigners or the children of the foreign born, the magnitude and difficulty of the task is plain. Some of the great city schools are handling the matter in a most admirable way. They are working on lines designed to cultivate those emotions and attitudes essential to American democracy. The honor system has been introduced in the higher grades and efforts are continually made to cultivate a sense of honor in the children, rather than to rule them by espionage and force. As they show capacity they are given responsibility, and are allowed to summon the classes and direct certain portions of their exercises. In their assemblies they are taught to salute the flag and to recite poems and sing songs expressive of the finest devotion to the flag and the nation. They are trained to select and recite those words of Washington and Lincoln and Webster in which the American ideals are most nobly expressed, and a real hero worship for these greatest Americans is cultivated. The emotional effect of these assemblies when rightly conducted is very great, and the children respond to them naturally and vitally. To cultivate the sense of unity among all these diverse racial elements who are prone to view each other with contempt and suspicion, pageants are given in

which the children of each group present a dance or poem or song or drama which their nation has contributed to the world, following which they all join in some expression of their common loyalty to America. True unity must be based on a mutual respect and a common loyalty and such ceremonies are designed to cultivate both these sentiments. It is interesting to see how the school is coming increasingly to be the centre of the life of the small American town. Just as the Greek temples or the New England church occupied a predominant position in the towns of the past, so in California and the West in the centre of each town, no matter how poor it may be, rises a building preeminent in size and in the classic beauty of its architecture, which will be found to be the public school, the temple of democracy. The great need in America at present is for teachers who understand and appreciate the American ideal and who have sufficient enthusiasm to communicate it. There is danger that under the control of political rings, teachers should be appointed who carry some racial or religious bias, and introduce an emotional culture of the wrong type. If all our finest young people could be made to see the importance of this work and could be enlisted in its cause, they could here serve their country more effectively than in any other position.

The emotional culture of the schools is supplemented by that supplied by the Boy Scouts and Boys' Clubs. The Clubs make use of the small group to develop and enforce a standard whose emotional value varies with the capacity of the boys and the personality of the leader. The Boy Scouts have introduced an emotional culture adapted to boys of the adventurous type which does not antagonize their group ideals as they often feel is the case with the Sunday School and other emotional cultures attempted by their elders. On the contrary, it starts with the type of man they admire at that stage,—the Indian Chief, and emphasizes his fine qualities, proceeding from them to develop the sense of honor and responsibility and to cultivate team work and public spirit. Perhaps this is the most valuable

emotional culture at present at work among our youth ; both because it starts from the point where it is most sure to grip them, and because it aims to produce those emotions and attitudes which are most essential to the state.

6. THE KU KLUX KLAN

There is one danger to which democracy has always been peculiarly exposed and which has wrecked more than one such government. It comes from groups organized to secure political control for their own benefit or for some purpose other than the public welfare. In a country like America with its millions of immigrants, it is easy to form groups of Germans, Russians, Irish or even of British (if we are to believe a certain well-known official) who will work for the benefit of their own race and nation rather than for the welfare of the country and who by thorough organization may succeed in dominating legislation. There are also groups like the Communists and I. W. W. who are seeking to overthrow the American economic system. Furthermore, as already stated, there are religious groups which are distinctly patriarchal in culture and which are endeavoring to control politics for the benefit of their own group. Some of these wish to subject our schools and thought and conduct to the control of a foreign potentate. By clever organization they often succeed in dominating the government of a city until all its officials belong to their group and are subject to its authority rather than servants of the American people. Finally there are political rings that seek to control a city merely for the graft which they can secure for their own groups.

All such groups constitute a serious menace to the welfare of the country. Whether they introduce foreign standards or foreign control or an alien emotional culture, or whether they merely institute a corrupt government designed to secure as much graft as possible, their whole culture is anti-American and un-democratic and opposed to all that we have found to be essential to a successful democracy.

It is interesting to note that a group has sprung up whose ostensible purpose is to defeat all such groups organized for political control. It has shrouded itself in mystery and disguised its members by masks, and has at times attempted to inflict punishment and to attack foreigners in a manner that has seemed most tyrannical and un-American, and it has therefore aroused the indignation of many of our best citizens. In a recent article, however, the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan explains its real purpose to be the defense of individual liberty against the old patriarchal cultures which he terms Paternalism, and against the modern tyranny of Socialism and of the boss. He says that the Klan is also designed to protect Americans against groups both national and religious, organized to control politics for their own ends, and that it aims to secure the non-interference of religion in government. It is said to support ideas which it regards as essential to American culture,—such an idea, for example, as that self-control is better than self-expression. It claims not to interfere in politics save indirectly, or for the support of some issue on which all Americans are united. Its chief aim is to control sentiment, and to create strong feeling against all measures and candidates who are un-American. Such a statement is of great interest. It indicates that there is a large group of men who claim to be interested in creating an emotional culture for the support of democratic and American institutions. They make use of a ritual and of symbols and vestments, all of which history has proved to be of great value in an emotional culture. It is certain that at times they have been unwisely directed and that they have been responsible for acts which were cruel and tyrannical. Moreover it seems to most citizens that to hide the face behind a mask is a cowardly and un-American performance. As we have seen it in operation we should unhesitatingly condemn the Ku Klux Klan. At the same time the statement of the Grand Wizard indicates that such a group rightly directed might prove of value. It should act as a threat against such groups as are seeking to control our politics for selfish ends. Moreover,

it could be made an emotional culture for public spirit and the sense of honor and responsibility, and it could be used to shape a high and worthy national ideal and to create a real devotion for it. On account of its mistakes and tyranny the organization seems to have lost hold somewhat in the South, but it is growing in most surprising fashion in the North and West. One can only hope that it will not degenerate into an organization for political power and plunder. It pretends to oppose paternalistic organizations, but it is in danger of assuming itself a paternalistic control of the conduct and morals of the public. If it could avoid these dangers and limit itself to cultivating a real devotion to all the finest American ideals, it might prove itself of value in regulating democratic development.

7. THE FAMILY AS AN EMOTIONAL CULTURE

The institution which should be most vital in the cultivation of right emotional attitudes is the family. It is here that children are influenced during their earliest years, when they are most susceptible and when the emotional attitudes are forming that shape their character under democratic influences. There has been as great a change in the constitution of the family as in that of the state and there is great danger that it should lose all its power as an emotional culture through failure to adapt itself to present-day conditions and to substitute some effective democratic culture for the old system of authority. The old-time family was absolutely patriarchal. Wife and children were subject to the husband and father, who owned them and all their possessions and had power to put them to death for disobedience. A deep and sacred sense of family unity was maintained through the family worship in which the father acted as priest. This created a reverence for him as the representative of God and for his commands as given by Divine authority. In a group of such solidarity, which met together continually for worship it was possible to perpetuate all the finer traditions and to cultivate the emotional

attitudes essential to civilization. The sense of unity was based upon reverence and authority rather than upon love and co-operation, but the institution was adapted to the society of the day, and was the most effective agent in civilization.

With the emancipation of women, vast confusion has been brought into the system. It is most difficult for a two-headed concern to run harmoniously and effectively. The few two-headed men who have been born have been unable to walk at all, since both heads attempted to control the legs. The same result follows only too often upon the demand of the wife for equal authority in the family. When two people of different temperaments and diverse opinions and standards both seek to control a family the result upon the children is most disastrous. Not only is there loss of all family unity, but any emotional culture to perpetuate noble traditions or to develop right attitudes becomes impossible. Unity is as essential in the family as in the state. To secure unity of action and feeling there must be authority without conflict. The patriarchal system was based on the theory, proved by experience, that the control of any one person, no matter how selfish and unintelligent, was better than the strife and confusion resulting from a conflict of authority. The democratic state finally worked out a system whereby unified emotion and control could be secured without autocratic authority, but no such plan has been developed for the family. The same rebellion against patriarchal authority shows itself in the family as in the state, but no substitute for it has been discovered. Only too often each member of the family insists on carrying out his or her own plans, which all the others resent. Each claims the right to do as he pleases, which is impossible if the family resources are limited and their prosperity is dependent on co-operation. The result is that every one is unhappy and discontented and the family frequently breaks up. The old-time family worship served as a form of group culture by which all were tuned in upon some common emotion or high ideal. It created the feeling that the family as a group shared in a

common devotion. It was an emotional culture whereby the finer sensibilities could be awakened and high standards could be kept constantly in view and enforced by group feeling. The custom became first a mere formality and was then largely abandoned. The whole tendency of the age is toward individualism and each member of the family wishes to live his own life and worship in his own way and detach himself from group feeling. While there are certain gains through such independence, it destroys all possibility of that group culture of the emotions which is the chief means whereby ideals are handed down and character is built up. Instead of being borne along on a strong serene tide of family feeling, each individual adds a new discord to the tide rip of selfish and petty conflicting impulses.

If there is to be a democratic family, it is evident that there must be a change in the emotional culture. If reverence for authority is no longer to bind the family together, there must be some emotion to replace this. There seems to be only the direct sense of unity that we call mutual love. We see it stated on every hand that where love has ceased to exist the family relation can no longer continue. This, of course, is true if the old reverence for authority no longer holds. As a result we see innumerable divorces and remarriages,—due in part to a restless quest for a family relationship based on a permanent, inner relationship rather than upon the eccentricities of sex emotion. Such individualism has a most disastrous effect upon the children, who are thus deprived of the stable emotional culture of the home, and subjected to all manner of influences which work at cross purposes. If the family is to rest solely on a lasting mutual love, it is evident that much more care should be taken in selecting a mate, and that before begetting children a man should be sure that he can offer them that stable background which is essential to this development. Under such a system, where no binding authority other than love is recognized, it might be better to permit trial marriages to test out the reality and permanence of the connection, than to break up the home after children are born. There

would be great danger, however, that such a system would be used unscrupulously and would result in unlimited license. When the family is once formed on the basis of love, some method must be put into practice for preserving unity in action and in emotional culture. Whether the family of the future will elect some member as family director and render implicit obedience for a specific period and try out the plans he suggests, or whether some other democratic means of preserving family unity will be invested, remains to be seen.

CHAPTER VII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. THE PREVENTION OF DISUNION

I. THE MEANING OF JUSTICE

IN discussing the Sense of Honor mention was made of its importance as a means to secure obedience to law in a democracy. To understand what emotional cultures are necessary to aid in the administration of justice in the American Republic, it will be necessary to review briefly the development of that function in national groups throughout the ages that are past.

Much has been said of the two cultures that were necessary to form a number of individuals into a united group, —the religious culture which produces the sense of unity, and the political organization by which a common purpose and united action are achieved. Less has been said of this third function of the group, by which its unity is preserved when once created. This involved provision of some means for deciding disputes between the members, and for putting out of the group those elements that were considered unamalgamable. We find that this function was recognized in the most primitive family group. The right of Abraham to put Hagar and Ishmael out of the family was as unquestioned as the right of Athens to banish Alcibiades. The earliest tradition indicates that where there was no means of deciding disputes the group was certain to be torn asunder. The descendants of Cain were permanently separated from the parent group by the quarrel of their ancestor with his brother. And it is equally evident that with no means of ridding itself of alien elements the group could hardly preserve its character or its power. It was because the Roman Republic was composed of citizens like Brutus

who would condemn their own sons to death for dishonorable conduct that it maintained its virility.

In primitive times the function of decision between disputing members was probably performed arbitrarily by the chief or king. If his decisions were wise, as those of the traditional Solomon, the group prospered. If they were not, there was discontent and lack of unity. Now this function differs from all others of the group because, in order to operate successfully, it must be detached from all emotion. In other words the decision must be impartial and not influenced by the feelings of the judge. It is commonly said that justice consists in giving to every man his due. But the question of what is due to any given man is answered differently in every age and in every community. To give a negro slave the same privileges as his master would have been regarded as outrageous injustice a century ago. The native of India thinks that his life and his labor, together with an attitude of abject servility, are due from him to his rajah. Certain laborers in America now claim that if they work three hours a day the community owes them a comfortable, if not a luxurious living. Whether there is any absolute justice, equivalent to an average of all these diverse opinions, is difficult to state. Perhaps the only workable definition of justice is that it is the opinion of the community at any given time as to what is due to its various members and officers. Justice as we know it is therefore as variable and changeable as beauty or truth, though each man always considers that his particular standard of justice and beauty and truth is absolute. In order to administer justice or decide disputes in such fashion as to preserve unity it was soon found that more was needed than the arbitrary and variable judgment of one man. In fraternal groups this function was performed by a council of elders who were better able to voice the opinion of the community and thus to approximate justice. The king often called such a council to sit with him and decide disputed cases.

2. THE CODE OR STANDARD OF JUSTICE

More than this was necessary, however, for unless there was a certain uniformity of decision, dissatisfaction was sure to arise. There gradually came into being, therefore, in each tribe, a code of some kind which expressed the ideas and experience of the community as to what was due to each man, and which provided certain definite methods of settling disputes. The privilege to possess property or to live without being injured or harmed and others of the kind were defined as belonging to free citizens as distinguished from strangers, barbarians and slaves, who could not hold property or expect that they would be safe from injury. Such privileges of the citizen when once defined in a code became rights.

In many codes definite penalties were affixed for each infringement of a man's rights. For stealing a sheep the code of Israel provided that the thief should restore four sheep to the injured man. The English like their Teutonic ancestor valued each man at a definite sum which must be paid to his relations if he were killed. Such a code was a most important part of the unification system. Its authority varied in different communities. In some it was supposed to represent the commands of the original ancestor or of God, and its authority was above that of the king, like the "law of the Medes and the Persians which altereth not." In other groups the king was above all law, and the code applied to all but him. In others still there was a part of the law, like the *jus divinum* of the Romans, which was above the king, and another part, the *jus civile*, which he could modify. In *fratriarchal* communities where there was no code, there was a custom (in France "*coutume*") by which the cases in each community were settled, and whose authority was very great. This code or custom had a threefold application: first, it defined the rights of different men and different classes; second, it prohibited certain acts; and, third, it provided penalties for the infringement of rights and the extreme penalty of death or banishment from the group for

those who had transgressed its fundamental rules. Such a code simplified the decision of disputes. It became merely a question of learning the facts. If it were determined that some prohibition had been transgressed or some one's rights had been infringed upon, the penalty was prescribed.

3. THE DETERRENT EMOTIONS

To enforce this code a double set of emotions came into play. There was always the fear of the punishment or penalty, but this deterred men not from breaking the code but from being caught in the transgression. If a man thought he could break the law without discovery, fear of punishment was no deterrent. There were, however, emotions that were cultivated as preventives, which operated to deter men from breaking the code without thought of the punishment. The first was due to the old mana and miasma culture. There was usually a part of the code that was supposed to have been given by the authority of the god. Any transgression of that exposed a man to the powers of evil or to punishment in hell so that he felt himself accursed and liable to every sort of disaster, as did Orestes or *Œdipus*. As a result of this feeling of guilt and of the dread of punishment and of being shunned by mankind, the transgression of any such rule or tabu was regarded with that mixture of fear and shame and disgust that we call horror. This feeling persists to-day in connection with certain acts which we usually term crimes against nature, instead of sins against God, as in ancient times. The feeling here seems to be independent of any fear of punishment.

A certain part of the code often consisted of prohibitions and decrees promulgated by the king. In so far as the religious culture was behind these the breaking of them was regarded with horror. Others which had merely the sanction of the king's command, were obeyed from reverence, which was felt toward him as the representative of the god.

In fratriarchal groups where the custom had no divine sanction, men were impelled to obey it by fear of public

opinion or shame. The disapproval or contempt of their fellow men awakened an emotion as powerful as that of horror or reverence. We may think of the unity of the group as protected by a series of barriers. The first and second suffice for most individuals, and the final barrier is essential only for the few who break through the rest. The first barrier is the code or custom which maintains rights, prescribes penalties and provides for the expulsion of serious transgressors. The second barrier is found in the deterrent emotions of horror, reverence, or shame, that protected the code. The third was the judgment of the king or council where the facts of any transgression or dispute were investigated, and the penalty applied as provided by the code. The fourth barrier was the fear of the penalty, which kept many from transgression who otherwise would not have been deterred.

4. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

As the group increased in size it became impossible for the king to decide all cases, and judges or sheriffs were appointed to represent him and decide the disputes that arose in the various districts, with the understanding that an appeal from their decision to the king was always possible. Gradually there came to be a division between those transgressions of definite prohibitions which were called criminal cases, and the cases which were the result of disputes between citizens and which were termed civil cases. A third type of case was that of the man who claimed that the law had been unfairly applied in his case and who appealed to the king as to an authority above the law, to remit the penalty. These cases became so numerous that the king appointed a chancellor to decide them and they became known as cases in chancery or in equity. In a monarchy the purpose of the group was shaped and carried out by the command of the king. He also was the agent who enforced the code and decided disputes. There came to be, therefore, some confusion between his administrative and judicial functions. A decree of the king might be regarded either

as a new law and part of the code, or as a command directing the action of the group. In either case the king punished any one who disobeyed, with or without trial. In nations that have developed under the monarchic system, such as the French, the judicial system is usually regarded as a part of the administrative system.

In fratriarchal groups there soon came to be a division between the council or court that rendered decisions, and the assembly that formed purposes. The assembly was the organ of public opinion. It had power to alter the code and to make new laws or statutes, but the courts alone had authority to decide whether the law applied to a certain case or not. The reason for this was that an entirely different attitude of mind is essential in the one function from that required in the other. To shape a new purpose and to secure the decision of the people to limit themselves by a new law, enthusiasm is necessary, whereas in a decision as to the application of the law to a certain case, absolute freedom from emotional bias and impartiality is necessary, combined with a thorough knowledge of the law and of human nature.

5. LAW AS DIVINE COMMAND OR PUBLIC OPINION

Two different conceptions of law, originating in the patriarchal and fratriarchal systems respectively, have had their influence in developing the forms of judicial procedure in different nations. The former supported the idea of law as the expression of the divine will and therefore unchangeable and sacred. The fratriarchal community tended to regard the law more and more as the codification of public opinion, and therefore as subject to change and adjustment. In the patriarchal idea the law itself was sacred and to be preserved no matter what the cost to the individual. In the fratriarchal community there dawned a conception of something more important than the law,—an idea of justice or fair treatment due to every man, and which involved a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, so that the decision should never be exactly the same in any

two cases,—although based on the same principles. From these two ideas developed two great systems of law,—the English law and the Roman law, the latter represented in modern times by the Code Napoleon. This represents the patriarchal idea of a complete inviolable code on the basis of which all decisions are made. The English law is a mere collection of precedents that show what the enlightened opinion of the past has been and which afford guidance in present decisions with a latitude of possible adjustment to the individual case. Concomitant with the idea of the law is the idea of the manner in which the decision should be made. The patriarchal view is necessarily that the best possible decision is that made by the god himself. Hence such governments made use of devices and tests of various kinds to determine the attitude of the god. Such was the trial by fire, where the two disputants or the man accused, were made to pass through flame, and it was supposed that God would protect the innocent while the guilty would be burned. Such a trial was proposed in Florence to settle the dispute between Savonarola and the Franciscans. When Michael Paleologus was accused of treason in Constantinople, it was proposed that he should be tried by proving his ability to lift a red-hot cannon-ball from the altar of St. Sophia, and he only escaped by requesting that he might receive the glowing ball from the virtuous hands of the patriarch. Many trials were settled by lot, as it was supposed that the lot was guided by the will of God, and the decision was therefore more sure to be just than any made by mere human intelligence. Next to the decision of God in perfection of justice was that of his representative the king, who was called the Fount of Justice, and next to him were the judges, sheriffs or intendants he appointed. There was no trial by jury in such a system, and even under the French Republic the idea remains that trial by judges is more just than the trial by jury, which is used only in a certain type of criminal case and does not seem to operate with much success, since all the traditions are against it. The French usually have more than one judge to try a case, however, for a long

experience with the selfish and corrupt representatives of kings has created among them the proverb: "*juge unique, juge inique.*" The Code of Napoleon and trial by judges has been adopted by nearly all the Latin countries, and the patriarchal idea of law thus survives even in republican countries.

6. TRIAL BY PUBLIC OPINION

The fundamental idea concerning decisions among the English was that every man had the right to be tried by his peers. In other words true justice for each man was to be found in the opinion of men of the class to which he belonged. This protected the common man from being judged by the noble, who was prone to view his rights with contempt; it also protected the noble from being judged by the commoner, who distrusted him and could not understand his motives. In the English system it was the function of the jury simply to decide on the facts, to determine if the accused was innocent or guilty, or to decide which of the disputants was in the right. It was the part of the judge to affix the penalty and sentence the criminal. This required thorough knowledge of the law and of precedent, and therefore required a man of special training. The jury represented public opinion and secured that the final authority in determining a man's guilt should be the opinion of his peers. Thus the fundamental authority in law was with the people, and not with any code or king. A man could not be condemned unless his fellow citizens felt that he deserved it. This leaves open a progressive interpretation of the law, and a continual approximation to that idea of justice which defies all codes and is a changing standard, dependent upon what a man's fellow citizens think is due him at a given time and under given circumstances.

7. PROGRESSIVE LAW

If the English system allows a progressive interpretation of the old common law, this is not the only way in which law progresses. Under the patriarchal system the king was

continually issuing decrees or ukases which became law for the people. The tendency of such decrees was to take away rights from the people and give them to the king, and since justice means giving to every man his due, and the law said that nothing was due to the commoner, in the end justice meant that the king should have everything and the people nothing.

In the fratriarchal group on the other hand, the assembly kept passing statutes, and the tendency of these was to assign more and more rights to the common man, until he became protected by a more and more complicated system of law which asserted his right to health, education, good wages, short hours of labor, wholesome amusements, and good housing. As groups became larger and more inhabitants were concentrated in great cities, innumerable laws became necessary to regulate life and prevent confusion, and the group that had once asserted its independence and resented any curtailment of its liberties, was gradually constrained, in order to preserve unity and harmony, to limit itself by a thousand petty regulations, lest the liberty of one should interfere with the health or prosperity of his neighbor. Thus in order to secure and maintain the rights of every one it became necessary to curtail their liberties, and the fratriarchal state often became more paternalistic in the minute regulation of the life of its citizens than the most autocratic monarchy. If perfect justice means giving to every man his due it becomes evident that to secure every man from any interference with any of his innumerable rights involves curtailing liberty. No one can be allowed to behave as he desires. The general benefits in such regulation, as for example in the traffic of large cities, are so evident that people acquiesce gladly in them.

8. DETERRENT EMOTIONS IN A DEMOCRACY

In the section on the Emotions essential to Democracy it has been shown that the laws of a democratic community are merely codified public opinion and that there is in them

nothing divine, immutable or awe inspiring as in the patriarchal code. Men will not be impelled to keep them by the emotion of reverence for the law itself, nor will they view the breaking of them with the horror that was once inspired by sacrilege. In a democracy, therefore, the series of barriers that preserves unity is quite different from that used by a monarchy. The emotion which impels men to keep the law is first that regard for the welfare of our fellow men which we term public spirit, or brotherly love. The emotion which deters a man from breaking laws when he desires to do so, and when he does not see the benefit such laws produce, is simply that sense of honor or good sportsmanship that leads a man to stand by the rules of the game even when those rules work against him. Having agreed to a government based on majority vote he will stand by its laws until he can change them according to the rules.

Such are the emotions that may be relied upon to replace the old horror and reverence as a means to restrain the average citizen from breaking the laws, emotions independent of any penalty affixed to the transgression and which are equally effective when the transgressor feels sure that his offense will not be discovered. It is these emotions that the fratriarchal state should cultivate above all others in its children. The old religions with their culture of awe and reverence which held the patriarchal state together are of no assistance in maintaining law in a democracy of thinking men. To accomplish this, some democratic religion must appear which will develop as much power in the culture of brotherly love and the sense of honor, as did the old religions through reverence and horror. There will always be many who cannot be reached by these higher emotions and it may be possible to hold them to obedience by the social emotion which we term fear of public opinion, or shame. This will not prevent a man from breaking the law if he can do so without being discovered, and so is not as effective as the sense of honor or public spirit. Its value as a deterrent varies in proportion with the probability of discovery. In a community with an efficient police force its in-

fluence is very strong. Democracies should do all in their power to cultivate this fear of public opinion by heaping ridicule, contempt and opprobrium on every one who breaks the law, instead of offering him the enthusiastic interest so often expressed in the daily press. Nothing could be more pernicious to the public welfare than such an attitude in our journals. There remains the type of man who is an enemy of society or the victim of powerful emotions or appetites and who can only be deterred by the fear of the penalty. To make this emotion effective the penalty should be swift and sure.

9. PRESENT DIFFICULTIES

A sure and swift penalty is, however, difficult to secure in our present system. Democratic government has sought to protect the common man from the injustice and oppression of the dominant classes and so has arranged a system in which repeated appeals are possible if there is reason to claim that the trial is unjust. If the transgressor has sufficient money he can appeal to the superior court, then to the supreme court of the state, and then to the court of appeals. By the time he reaches the higher court, the popular feeling against him has died down, the prosecution weakens, and he is likely to get off with a light sentence.

Another difficulty is in the attitude of the jury, which inclines to favor a man who is under arrest. Instead of merely deciding whether the accused broke the law or not, the jury often attempts to take into consideration the reasons why he broke it, and to inquire if he did not have an excuse for so doing. This is all a part of the patriarchal idea that justice is something deeper than the mere keeping of laws, and it may work out gradually a higher ideal of what our laws ought to be. For example, if the jury refuses to condemn a man for stealing on the ground that the wage he received was too small to enable him to feed and clothe his family, such action may cause a revision of our ideas as to what the community owes to a man with family responsibilities. To refuse to condemn such a man for steal-

ing is not necessarily a backward step in the development of justice. It is, however, extremely discouraging to those who are trying to secure the enforcement of the laws.

In the meantime the difficulty of securing convictions creates in the mind of the criminal the idea that he can count on a chance of escaping the penalty for any deed he may contemplate, and therefore the fear of punishment ceases to be a deterrent of any value. In a recent interrogation of criminals one man was asked why robbers so often shoot to kill to-day, when they might obtain what they wish without murder. He answered that it was easier and quicker to kill the man they intended to rob, and there was so little chance of arrest and conviction that it was better to adopt that method. The world is now awake to the fact that it is necessary to make the penalty for crime much more sure and swift and it is to be hoped that there will soon be changes of procedure that will have this effect. There are those who claim that punishment for crime is no deterrent, but apparently what they mean is that so few crimes are punished that these few cases are not sufficient to deter. It could hardly be maintained that if it were known that every criminal would inevitably be caught and severely punished, this knowledge would have no restraining effect. The chief reason for which a government punishes crime is, of course, to deter men from actions that break up the unity of the group. The miasma idea that the criminal is infected by evil and therefore must be put out of the way or the community will suffer disaster, famine or plague, no longer exists. It would seem, however, that the government should have the power to exclude from society or put to death those who refuse to obey its code and standard and who are persistently false to the agreement on which the group unity is based. Otherwise the unity will certainly be disintegrated and all value of the group will be destroyed with the overthrow of its standards.

A second reason for the punishment of criminals is that if the state does not punish them adequately, private revenge and lynch law come into play and feuds are thus

started. The law and its penalties must express the sense of justice of the community or division will ensue.

The reform of the criminal is, of course, desirable, but not if it involves a failure to deter others from crime or if it fails to satisfy the sense of justice of the community. If the criminal is to be reformed, it is much better to do it before he commits his crime, by improving the conditions under which he lives, rather than afterward. Too much praise and credit cannot be given the juvenile courts for the preventive work they are doing along these lines, in the study of the causes that produce crime, and the elimination of conditions in the home that tend to create the criminal.

If the children of the nation can be trained to feel and respect the barriers described above, it is evident that crime will inevitably disappear. It is for this reason that an adequate emotional culture is of such supreme importance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENEMIES OF CIVILIZATION

I. THE CRIMINAL CLASSES

CIVILIZATION has always had its enemies. There have been savage tribes outside its pale who lived by plundering its resources. There have been bandits and robbers within its borders who fattened upon the wealth produced by its toil. There are the criminal classes of to-day, who pretend to be a part of civilization only to take advantage of the relations of trust which it has established, to rob and destroy. They sit in at the game determined to win the prize by breaking the rules. In all ages there have been tribal groups at war with one another whose members, though loyal to their own groups, thought it right to enter the village of another tribe and rob and kill to the limit of their power. Such is the attitude of the criminal to civilization, save that he is actually a member of the group which he despoils and has usually taken the vows of citizenship to be loyal to its laws. In other ages such treachery was punished by cruel and instant death. We punish the criminal by keeping him in detention for a time in circumstances of comparative comfort. The penalty for all such enemies of civilization who aim to secure its products by breaking its laws, should be to put them all together in some remote island, where there are no laws. In this way they might learn the value of laws and the importance of obeying them. This of course does not apply to those who break the law under the influence of sudden passion. Those who deliberately plan to win the game by cheating should not be allowed to play at all.

2. THE DESTRUCTION OF CIVILIZATION

Criminals and robber bands do not wish to see the destruction of civilization but only to prey upon it. There

have been certain groups who have deliberately sought to destroy our present civilization. They have maintained that all the evils and sin of to-day were its result, and that if its sanctions were broken down and we returned to the state of the primeval savage, all crime and suffering would be done away. Something of this attitude appears in the writings of Rousseau. The objections to civilization may be classed under two main heads:—first, that it results in tyranny and second, that it maintains inequality among men.

It has already been shown that until recently the only method known of holding large groups together in unity was that of the patriarchal or autocratic government whose emotional cultures produced such reverence for one man that all his subjects would obey his laws and commands. The idea that men would gain by returning to the state of the savage was based on ignorance. There is no place where laws are enforced so tyrannically and where men have so little liberty as in a group of savages. The miasma system holds them in the constant bondage of fear. It is only the neighboring group that they are free to attack and plunder. The tyranny is equally great whether they are under a chief or under communal government, like the primitive Japanese. The reason why civilization depends on the enforcement of laws and why even the smallest group cannot survive without them, is that the instincts of the primitive man are individualistic and predatory like the tiger, and not social like the ant or bee. From our observation of ants it would seem that all their desires and passions lead them to toil for others whether in constructing the walls of their dwelling, or in searching for food, or in care for the young. There seems to be no instinct that is not purely altruistic. A community of ants therefore would need no laws and no tyrannical rule, since it is their nature to work in co-operation. From what we can learn of the primitive cave man, it would seem that the sight of plentiful food or a beautiful woman in the cave of his neighbor would stimulate him at the first chance to knock his neighbor on the head and carry off his wife and possessions. His primary instincts appear

to be predatory and individualistic rather than social. Such an attitude would of course break up any attempt at unity. The exception to this is the family group. The tiger is at war with all the world, but he will work to get food for his own family and to protect them. The same was true of primitive man. It has been the aim of this book to show how this sense of family unity has been expanded by emotional cultures to include larger and larger groups. We have also sought to show that at first it was impossible to secure that direct sense of unity between all the members of a large group which we call brotherhood, and which would lead them to work for one another's good. Civilization has followed rather the line of emphasizing reverence for the father and respect for his laws. The aim of these laws has necessarily been to repress the primitive predatory instincts, and to prevent the individual from taking the property or wife of his neighbor and from interfering with his welfare. Thus the main influence of patriarchal civilization has been repressive. In the most primitive tribes we find indications that there were festal periods when these prohibitions were removed and the repressed instincts were allowed free play in a general orgy, after which the tribe returned to obedience to the law.

Two matters are worthy of note in this connection; the first is that however harmful this restriction may have been, it was nothing to the harm which would have resulted from the removal of all restriction, which would have made any unity or civilization impossible. The second is that by compelling men to live together under law the habit of obedience and of co-operation was gradually built up, until this amounted to the germ of a social instinct.

3. ANARCHISM

The first group of the enemies of civilization have been termed Anarchists. They have rebelled against the tyranny of civilization and their watchword has been "Liberty." The better group among them, such as Tolstoi, sincerely held that man was by nature altruistic and that his nature

had been warped by the laws of society. To rid the world of crime all that was necessary was to remove these repressive laws and men would then act toward one another as brothers in the fashion of the bee and the ant and all crime and sin would disappear. Now it is hardly true that man is altruistic by nature, and experiment would seem to prove that the majority of mankind have not yet acquired sufficient social instincts to make it possible for them to live harmoniously without law. The anarchist is probably right in asserting that both sin and crime are the results of civilization, for civilization compels a creature with individualistic instincts to live in accordance with social laws. Animals do not sin, since they live in accordance with their instincts. If a group of tigers were compelled to live together in a hive under the laws of the bees sin would soon begin, for their instincts would impel them continually to break the laws. Sin and crime would continue until the tiger developed social instincts. It may then be said that civilization is responsible for sin and crime, but it should be admitted that mankind is far better off with sin and crime than we would be without laws. A second group of Anarchists have no such optimistic ideas as to the result of overthrowing the laws and institutions of civilization and their only desire is to secure for themselves an opportunity to glut their passions and plunder the world. Nesta Webster in her book on *World Revolution* attempts to show that all the groups opposed to our present civilization have sprung from such an anarchic group organized by Weisshaupt in 1776 and called the Illuminati. Their aim was to work in secret to overthrow the family, the church, and the state, and to destroy all laws and all religion in order that they might have a free hand to plunder the world as they chose. This aim was disguised from their neophytes, before whom only the loftiest ideals were displayed. It would seem that certain of those that organized the French Revolution, such as Cloutz, for example, were inspired by the Illuminati and had as a definite object the overthrow of the family, the state and the church, and of all religion and law.

4. COMMUNISM

One watchword of the French Revolution was that of the Anarchist: "Liberty." A second watchword, "Equality," came from a group who had a different complaint against civilization. They found fault not so much with its repressive power, as with the inequalities it produced. Certain individuals and classes had unlimited resources and vast power, while the masses lived in poverty and suffering. This inequality was the result of civilization and was sure to continue as long as its laws and institutions continued in power. The group in question advocated the idea that all the resources of civilization should be divided so that all men should enjoy them equally. Although the two watchwords of Liberty and Equality may have originally belonged to one group, it soon became evident that they were diametrically opposed. To divide property equally and to keep it so divided requires the enforcement of laws even more tyrannical than those of any autocracy. There therefore developed two parties among the enemies of civilization, the Anarchists and the Communists. The Anarchists, such as Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin, aimed at liberty through the destruction of law and the institutions that maintain it. The Communists with the aid of Karl Marx elaborated certain ideas of the Illuminati into a definite system by which Equality was to be produced and maintained. In Russia they were at swords' points with the Anarchists and the latter attempted to assassinate Lenin. The Bolshevik Communists resembled the Anarchists in aiming at the overthrow of the existing institutions of civilization,—the family and the church and present forms of government together with all religion, but they differed from them in insisting upon having laws and a firm government of their own. The Mensheviks were Communists, but believed in preserving some of the institutions of the past.

Lenin at first seems to have held with Tolstoi that the chief evils in Russia were caused by the cruelty and injustice of the Czarist régime, and that when this was done

away, men would be glad to divide equally the resources of the country and to labor for the public good. He did away with the death penalty and evidently expected to find that the majority of his people had developed social instincts. All property was made over to the state, to be used for the good of all. Personal property was limited to one suit of clothing and one article of each kind of furniture, and each man was allotted a room with sufficient air space for one. All industries became the property of the state, and the workmen became employees of the state, receiving as pay enough food and clothing for their needs. Their superfluous product was to be applied to the public need wherever it was greatest. It was here that it became evident that man did not possess the instincts of the bee. The peasants wanted to own their land. Rather than have their superfluous product sent to the workmen in the towns they refused to work. Many of the workmen, finding that they only received what they needed, did as little work as possible to obtain it. When the author was in Russia in '24, there were 20,000 men employed by the Government in the oil fields of Baku. These were doing poorly work that American oil men said could have been well done by 5,000 men. Workingmen refused to take orders from their superiors, since they were all equal. Worse than this, it was found that everywhere men were seeking to secure more than the Communist allowance by fraud and graft of all kinds. Lenin found himself betrayed by men of his own group whom he had trusted. The result was the Dictatorship and the Cheka, a system of espionage more drastic than that of the Czar and a terrorism even more profound. It was the result of bitter experience. Undoubtedly there were large numbers of the Communists who were sincere and who would work with whole-hearted enthusiasm for the public good. But Lenin found that the majority of the people were merely normal human beings who had the instinct of acquisitiveness and a disinclination to work save when forced to do so. Everywhere men were trying to avoid the Communist laws and accumulate secretly. The government and industry were honeycombed

with graft and fraud. Every man had to be watched, and it was necessary to have others to watch the watchers and a third group to watch them, and to hold the terror of death over all.

Russians have had no such opportunity to develop social instinct or the initiative as the Anglo-Saxons have gained in their long course of education in self-government. When a friend of the author's reported to Lenin on the unsatisfactory conditions of the industries he had been asked to inspect and commented on the unwillingness of the workmen to take orders or to do effective work, Lenin clenched his fists and cried out, "It is true. These people are beasts. If I had made the revolution in England or Germany or America, it would have succeeded, but here it seems impossible." His meaning was, of course, that the workmen of England and Germany had sufficient initiative and public spirit to work when autocratic control was removed. As it was, he found it necessary to increase the authority and terrors of the dictatorship until it became the most formidable autocracy in the world. Almost none of the millions of peasants were Communists, and to preserve the government it was necessary to arrange a system in which the industrial Communists would have a predominant vote. This has been ingeniously worked out in the system of Soviets, where all the crafts and industries have representation, while the peasants are kept in the minority by a limited representation. The supreme necessity for Russia was a strong government. Any one who believed in anarchy might have been converted by witnessing its effects on the Ukraine, as the author did soon after the war. When the old government fell the Ukraine was left the prey of bandits and adventurers. They plundered every one, from the wealthy manufacturers to the poor peasants, who were left without cattle or farm implements. Ekaterinoslav in two years had suffered from twenty so-called governments, most of them the rule of mere bandits. A city of 600,000 had been reduced to 200,000. The great factories were all gutted and wrecked. Houses and shops and universities were torn to pieces.

There were 5,000 homeless children, whose parents had been murdered, living in the streets, ragged and diseased. It is no wonder that the Soviet government, when it took hold, was compelled to institute an autocratic reign of terror to hold these lawless forces in leash.

Syndicalism is a strange compound of Communism and Anarchism. In so far as it maintains that workingmen should own their own tools and factories and direct their own work, it resembles Communism, but in its use of the general strike to overthrow existing government, it seems more like Anarchy.

5. COMMUNISM AND RELIGION

These various groups have succeeded in stirring up a number of revolutions in the last one hundred and fifty years, and have destroyed certain portions of civilization. They have, however, always failed to maintain themselves in power or to make their ideas operate successfully, and the result has been a return to some autocratic form of government and to some type of emotional culture, to maintain it. It is interesting to see how the Soviets are trying to replace the old religion with a Lenin culture. The author saw groups of boys organized as branches of a society known as the Spartak, who were being inoculated with this culture, and noted the enthusiasm with which they responded to it. They expressed their detestation for an economic system in which each man sought to get what he could from the rest, and their determination to share always everything they had with their comrades and to give their energy and life blood to the Cause of Communism.

If the Communists succeed in impregnating the youth of the whole nation with this culture and in making it powerful and permanent enough to influence them at all times, it is evident that their system will succeed. If they fail with the culture the government must fail. The Soviet government is among the few who appreciate the importance of emotional cultures. Their opposition to religion is not a brutal iconoclasm, but a keen appreciation of the danger

with which such a culture threatens their system. The author purchased in Moscow many of the anti-religious magazines illustrated with flaming, scurrilous and extremely clever cartoons in which the religion of Christian, Jew and Mohammedan was attacked with equal fervor. Their chief objection to religion is that it holds men in obedience to the present social order which they call capitalism, and there are cartoons which show the Capitalist holding up the figure of Christ for adoration or presenting a terrifying figure of Jehovah before he robs the people. One cartoon, entitled "I make you fishers of men," shows the Capitalist seated on the edge of the river fishing for the public with bait consisting of icons, crucifixes, Bibles, and all the paraphernalia of religion. As he hauls in his victims they are put into chutes which dump them into his factory, from which they emerge in the form of gold, which pours down another trough into his pocket. The sermon on the Mount is represented as a conspiracy between Christ and the Capitalist by which Christ teaches the people to be meek and to rejoice when they are persecuted, while the capitalist tramples them under foot and robs and plunders them. Their second objection is that religion keeps the people subject to superstition and hinders the advance of science, and their third point is that religion teaches the people to pray to the saints for what they want instead of working for it, and therefore makes them idle and inefficient.

They understand thoroughly that religion in the forms in which it exists in Russia is a patriarchal culture and inimical to all forms of popular government. It has so vital a hold on the people, however, that it will probably take many generations to replace it with the Lenin culture. It is interesting to note that Weisshaupt, the founder of the Illuminati, assumed the name of Spartacus, while "Spartak" is the name of the Russian cultural societies for boys.

The Anarchists and Communists have sought to overthrow the old civilization and all its institutions because they professed to believe that man was possessed of social instincts and that if the repressions of government were removed he would work for the public welfare. All experi-

ments attempted on this line seem to disprove the assumption. In the meantime the Western world has been attempting to advance in the direction of Liberty and Equality not by overthrowing civilization, but by modifying its institutions gradually toward democratic forms as men were found to have developed sufficient public spirit and initiative and sense of honor to make possible their successful operation. The chief difficulty has been that Western rulers have not yet seen as clearly as the Soviet government the importance of building up emotional cultures which will support this new type of government. It seems probable that humanity must advance by the gradual transformations of normal growth, in which feeling and form are modified together, rather than by the cataclysmic revolutions planned by the Anarchist, the Communist and the syndicalist. It is true that the present form of civilization results in making the man of brute strength, who would have dominated primitive society, subordinate to the man of craft and often his victim, and as the primitive man acquires sufficient intelligence to appreciate his condition it is natural that he should rebel against civilization. The fact, however, remains that as a member of a civilization under the rule of intelligence he enjoys more privileges and pleasures than would be his under his own rule of brute force.

The cure for all these difficulties is in the gradual growth of public spirit and of a sense of honor, which make possible the more popular forms of government, and insure a gradual increase in Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

CHAPTER IX

THE ANEPSIARCHAL SYSTEM. COUSINSHIP VERSUS BROTHERHOOD

I. THE VALUE OF SMALL GROUPS

It has been stated that the American Republic was the first government to attempt unification without the aid of a State religion. To-day the barriers of prejudice are so great that it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to unify the world by the culture of any one religion, applied to the mass of mankind, in the hope that each individual might thus be brought to feel his unity with the rest. Even if it were possible, there is a growing suspicion of mass movements and mass emotions which might lead us to feel that such an effort would be inadvisable. To appeal to the mass an emotion must be of a primitive type in order to touch the lowest elements as well as the highest. Any exalted emotion would inevitably leave large numbers untouched. A mass emotion, therefore, is almost sure to lower the emotional plane of the majority rather than to raise it. Even in cases where, through the excitement of some revival, larger numbers are moved to accept a higher standard, the results do not seem to be permanent, possibly because it is extremely difficult to maintain the emotional culture at the same height, and to keep it focussed upon the same individuals.

The difficulty in directing mass movements is that people do not exist as a mass on one plane. They are on different levels and in different cultural groups, and what stirs one, repels the next.

For this reason, it seems probable that any unification which is real and permanent must be based on small groups, each of which is a coherent emotional and intellectual unit. It is quite possible to federate these groups and to make them feel unity with one another through a common devo-

tion to some ideal, even when the method of expressing and cultivating this devotion as practised in one group, is repellent to the ideas of the rest. The idea by which unity can be made possible, therefore, is not that of a great family of brothers and sisters. It is rather that of a family composed of groups of cousins, each of which has its own definite unity, while it recognizes its kinship to the other groups. The idea of brotherhood as expressed in the absolute democracy is proving increasingly inadequate. When it unifies it does so by reducing all to the average level if not somewhat below it. It produces a forced relationship which is not based on mutual understanding, and is therefore felt to be unreal. It operates against progress rather than for it. When a group has developed a fine mutual understanding based on a cultivated sense of beauty and high standards, to bring in a mass of men who mock at these standards, and who love what is ugly and who are uncomfortable save when surrounded by dirt and profanity, and then to demand that these men shall be treated as brothers is to destroy all real brotherhood. Nothing would be more certain to produce dissension and strife. If it did not it would mean that the more highly developed individuals would descend to the level of the worst. As two separate and federated groups the same men could, however, exist in sympathetic relations as cousins if not as brothers,—that is if each group is allowed to preserve its unity. It is very important, therefore, to replace the much overworked idea of brotherhood with that of cousinship, if we are to make progress toward a democracy that is real. Any two groups can be federated provided that both are ascending in scale. Groups are of two types, those that are ascending toward higher standards and better conditions and those that are descending to lower and more primitive standards and conditions. The latter are opposed to civilization and are returning to barbarism. They include such groups as bandits, pirates, tramps and criminals. With them may be placed the gangs of loafers who hang around pool rooms, and all groups whose standard is antisocial or recessive and is car-

rying them down to lower levels. These, of course, cannot be combined with any of the groups that make for progress. All that can be done with them is to break them up, or to detach individuals and connect them with some ascending group.

The group is the great agent in character formation and in social progress. It has a very powerful emotional culture even when its members are unaware of the fact and have no such aim. It has its standards and each member finds a tremendous emotional stimulus in the approval of his associates, when he succeeds in realizing their standards in his speech or dress or conduct, or in the appointments of his house. The emotional effect, known as shame, is equally great when he finds he has transgressed their canons, and has won their disapproval. A boy's character is formed in this way. Whether his gang admires dirty hands and torn clothes and impudence and foul language, or high collars and wide trousers and a British intonation, he will be equally miserable if he fall short of their standards.

Groups are of many types. The simplest are the natural groups of friends who have similar interests and ideas. Next are the groups associated on the basis of employment, the labor unions and professional associations which bring men and women together mainly because of their material interests. Then come the cultural groups which centre around an interest in art or music or literature, and which might be made to include school and college groups. Finally, we have the groups which aim at some ideal, ethical, religious or humanitarian. In many of these there is a definite emotional culture which seeks to develop reverence for the ideal and a devotion to it. The unity of a group is much stronger and more coherent when it centres around loyalty to some high ideal, than when men are held together simply by mutual attraction or common interest.

2. PROGRESSIVE GROUPS

The advantage of the small group in those unities which involve character formation lies in the fact that people dif-

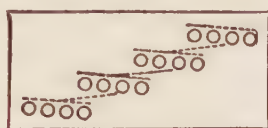
fer so greatly and are in such different stages of development that the ideal and the emotional culture must be very carefully adapted to their need and capacity, and it is difficult to find anything that will grip powerfully more than a very small number. Moreover, the confidential relations and intimate associations necessary in the cultivation of deep loyalties and great devotion are impossible in large numbers. In organizing society it is, therefore, important to have groups adapted to each level of development. These groups should not be stationary but should be progressive. We recognize the necessity of this in intellectual development and have groups in school which progress from each grade to the next. Progressive groups are also provided in Athletics, Art, and Business. The same thing is equally important in ethical and social development. There should be graded groups adapted to the needs of the community; and, indeed, to a certain extent this tends to arrange itself. In a community, the churches naturally adapt themselves in this way. If there is a group with a highly developed sense of beauty and with a cultivated æsthetic sense there will be a church which, in its use of literature, art and music, adapts its emotional culture to their capacities. If there is a hard-headed, keen-thinking, logical group, that despises art and poetry and mysticism, there will be a church which in its simple forms and clear logical presentation of the moral ideal is adapted to their requirements. If there is an element of the population that is ignorant and degraded and primitive in its emotions, there must be a church that will appeal to them either by a spectacular ritual, or by language that the other groups would call sensational and irreverent, and which will concentrate on aiding them to overcome drunkenness and brutality—to approximate the simple ideals of honesty and thrift, whose mere mention would be regarded as an insult by other groups. No group would feel at home in the church of another group, and yet all might be federated in perfect sympathy, because they are travelling toward the same ideal. The smaller the group the more perfect the unity that is possible, since a more perfectly

adapted emotional culture can be developed and a deeper devotion and stronger loyalty can be achieved. To try to merge these in one body might be fatal to all.

The difficulty with the church is that it tends to become the stabilized organ of a certain group and therefore ceases to progress. In order to progress culturally people have to go to another church, which is contrary to custom. In cases where a church does progress it carries the whole group with it, until they reach a point where they look down socially on the element in the community which is at the level from which they have started. These are often left to stagnate, or to form recessive groups. Most of the evil in the world and much of the suffering is due either to recessive groups or to individuals who do not belong to any group but are lost, either in the mass of the city or in isolated valleys in the country. If all such individuals were connected with an ascending group, one might hazard the prophecy that nine-tenths of the world's evil would disappear. The emotional power of a group in enforcing its standard has never been adequately estimated.

One cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance of substituting the cousinship idea for that of brotherhood. It signifies not only a difference in organization but a difference of feeling and of the basis of relationship. We have spoken of the patriarchal relationship as vertical, since each member depends from his superior, and of the fratriarchal relationship as horizontal, since it is an affiliation of equals. The Greek word for cousin is *ἀνέψιος*, and we might term this new type of social relationship Anepsiarchal and define it as diagonal in its direction, since it is a reciprocal relationship between groups on different levels which inspire and help one another, though there is no direct subordination of the lower to the higher, and they are usually governed by a council of representatives from each. This idea of society as consisting of groups on the different landings of a stairway is much more helpful because it corresponds with reality. Men are not all brothers with equal rights, but it is recognized that they have rights and privileges

proportioned to their progress on the stair. A flat democracy is likely to wreck society and progress, because it is founded on a falsehood. It treats a man as an equal who is not an equal and it is as certainly doomed to failure as would be a system of education that admitted children of



Anepsiarchal

primary grade to the high school. The true meaning of democracy is equality of opportunity and equality in matters of justice, and any system that attempts to treat the man who has neglected his opportunities in the same way as it treats him who has used his to the uttermost, is disastrous. A great deal is said of the unbrotherliness of certain ethical and religious groups which will not open their doors to all comers. This is unreasonable. When a certain group in a community have built up certain standards of decency and beauty and cleanliness, it is absurd to expect them to take in a mass of men who laugh at their standards, who are content to live in dirt and ugliness, and who express themselves with coarseness and vulgarity. They rightly resent and fear the presence of such members. They should, however, recognize and sympathize with another group which is seeking to progress as they have progressed. The value of such a group is in its ability to maintain its standards, and this is lost if large numbers are brought in, whose stage of development makes it necessary to lower the standard. Most great progressive movements have started with a very small group with very high standards, and have come to an end through their efforts to democratize the group. They have taken in so many that the standard was lowered until it had no significance. If they had organized a system of ascending federated groups, as is done in the schools, this might not have occurred. If a High School had to be continually adjusting its standards because twelve-year-old

children insisted on their democratic right to enter the same class with their older brothers, the latter would soon be discontented and unhappy. Now people of different intellectual grades can associate together happily, but for those in different ethical and cultural grades it is almost impossible. They cannot understand each other for many reasons. In the first place their senses and emotions are not equally or similarly developed. Members of a high emotional grade are trained to extraordinary sensitiveness. They feel things to which lower grades are dead. Differences to them are vital which lower grades do not even perceive. More important than this even is the fact that social life develops a complicated symbolism, in which every gesture and inflection is significant. Its dinners and receptions and teas have a ritual as complete as that of any church, through which the various emotions and mental attitudes are expressed in beautiful forms. It takes long training to understand the ritual and symbolism of any group, and to demand the admission of numbers who understand nothing of all this is as absurd as to put a bull in a china shop, or a pig in a parlor. The pig does not enjoy the parlor and it is a mistaken democracy that trains him to feel he has a right to be there, until at least he has taken the pains to learn the significance and the values of the articles the parlor contains.

If, instead of admitting every one to the same group, men were placed in groups adapted to their development, and the opportunity were given to graduate into a higher group when they showed the requisite development, we would then have a democracy based on reality and not on the silly pretense that one man is as good as another. If recognition were given to those who were willing to work and learn, and a man's position in the social scheme were made as directly dependent on his achievement as is the case in the schools, we would rid ourselves of much bitterness and class feeling.

It must be admitted that the difficulties of determining the standards and membership of each grade in such a system would be great, and as a general plan for the organiza-

tion of society it may be impossible. There are, however, some such systems of progressive groups already in existence, and there are yet more groups which are progressing steadily toward higher standards, although they have no arrangement for graduation into other higher groups. In fact, most of our progress to-day is due to groups of this sort which counteract the levelling influence of unmitigated democracy. All groups that have to do with education or training belong to systems of this kind, and most social and religious groups are consciously or unconsciously progressive. Whether these are all brought into an organized system or not their value remains, and we may hope that their number and influence will steadily increase. It is, moreover, of some importance to enunciate the principle of anepsiarchy and to enable men to see its superiority to democracy. When the world becomes thoroughly disgusted with democracy it may be that an escape from its evils may be found by the adoption of some system of progressive groups.

There seems to be an idea that division into groups produces animosities and frictions and tends to split society. It may do this if the groups do not give a fair recognition of achievement. If they do, then such rivalry as they produce is a stimulus to progress and is beneficial. This is true even when the groups are apparently antagonistic, as in the case of conservatives and radicals. Most groups exist to maintain a certain standard, and progress as their members approximate it. No standard or institution is perfect, however, and each must change or cease to grow. In each group there comes about, therefore, a natural division between those who wish to introduce changes and those who wish to preserve the old. This is essential to the well-being of the group. If no changes were introduced it would die of dry rot, or become fossilized, like the civilization of China. If every change suggested were adopted it would be wrecked by vagaries. A tree must put out new branches, but it cannot grow if the trunk is continually being cut off. The fact that both parties exist is the guaranty of normal growth.

The radical party prevents the old from being retained when it has become detrimental. The conservative prevents the new from being introduced until every harmful element has been weeded from it. The harder each group works on its own line the better is the result for all, because the growth is sure to be only on absolutely essential lines and the connection with the past is preserved. A placid and loving unity between all the members is more likely to result in ultimate ruin, than a sharp antagonism between two subordinate groups, who represent these two tendencies.

3. EXCLUSIVE GROUPS

There is a certain type of group, however, whose influence is distinctly harmful. It is the group which is exclusive not for the sake of maintaining a standard, but merely to maintain prestige. It is the survival of the old castes of the priesthood, or of the nobility, or of royalty, who erected ceremonial barriers to keep themselves apart from the common man, in order that they might be regarded with reverence, and that their commands might be obeyed. In the system of the French monarchy, for example, where everything hinged upon obedience to the King and reverence for him, inasmuch as he was really quite an ordinary man it was necessary to dress him with magnificence and to surround him with ceremonial barriers which would keep the crowd at a distance and cause them to feel that he was a superior being. There are certain circles that attempt to maintain this culture, even in a democracy, where it is less than useless. They erect a barrier between themselves and the common man by means of certain fashions and customs which they make the criterion for entrance to their group. These earmarks are not the sign of superior culture or development, but are designed merely to exclude the masses. These distinguishing signs are not in themselves regarded as a mark of good taste, for the select group usually changes its fashions as soon as they are copied by outsiders. In this way people who are really inferior in culture and

standards are able to maintain themselves as an exclusive set, and to become the envy of their fellow men. In Europe the criterion is usually birth, and those descended from the old families, even if notably lacking in intellect, good taste and morals, are able to maintain a group which is regarded with reverence and envy by all outsiders. In a democracy, wealth usually provides the means to ape the manners and fashions of the exclusive set and to open the barriers.

Groups of this sort, which are based on no real attainment or superiority in ability or character, but are designed to give certain individuals an artificial prestige, cause most of the bitterness in social life. In a society where attainment and ability and culture are recognized as the basis of social standing there should be no real feeling between the classes and the masses, for it would be possible for a man to progress to a higher group as soon as he attained its standard. But where an intelligent and cultivated man is not recognized if he is unable to conform to an arbitrary group ritual and where he is excluded unless he dresses in a certain way and has a certain number of servants and a certain ceremonial in his eating and sleeping, a sense of injustice is usually created among those who are debarred. A ritual or symbolism in connection with meals and with daily life is desirable, and gives beauty and meaning to the daily routine, and a man who purposely disregards and violates it might well be excluded. But such forms are easily learned, and if they are not deliberately used as a barrier, they do not form a real obstacle in the path of any man. When the wealthy multiply and exaggerate the ritual of daily life so that it is beyond the reach of many who are cultured though poor, they are creating an artificial and unreal barrier to enhance the prestige of their own group. When the basis of a group is the possession of certain articles rather than the understanding and use of them, or when its standards are merely tricks of manner, and formulæ of words, instead of standards of ability and character and sensitiveness to beauty, then that group is more likely to do harm than good.

In the case of groups that are based on any standard of real superiority, it is, of course, impossible for many to qualify for the higher circles, since they have not the mental equipment, but if they are allowed to progress as far as their capacities enable them to go, there should be no bitterness for them in being excluded from groups where they would only feel themselves out of place. Wealth, of course, is an advantage in enabling those who possess it to secure better education and an appreciation of beauty that it is difficult for the poor to attain. But our system of education is bringing the means for the highest culture more and more into the reach of every child, and it should soon be possible for any one who has the real desire for it to go as far as his abilities allow. A true democracy would then be not a society where men of all degrees of culture and attainment were herded in one group and called equal, but a federated series of ascending groups in every line of attainment, where each man would be associated with a group on his own level of attainment and cultural development, where he would not be hampered by the presence of those who could not appreciate his standards, where he would find a competition that would stimulate without discouraging, and where he would meet with associates who could give him the understanding essential to happiness. This would mean that the group which is exclusive merely for the sake of maintaining prestige would have to disappear. There are possibly some exceptional cases in which such groups are useful. Officers in the army tell us that they cannot maintain discipline unless they keep an artificial barrier between themselves and the men, and that the common soldier, no matter how cultivated and deserving, must be kept entirely out of the social life of the officer. This seems to be founded upon a fear that on close acquaintance the soldier might not find the officer as superior a being as he is supposed to be, and therefore might not be willing to give him the implicit obedience that is necessary. This situation is not found, however, in many of our democratic institutions. The army, perhaps, cannot be treated as a truly fraternal group, but

in general there is no reason why the method of progressive groups based on attainment should not be applied.

4. GROUPS OF FRIENDS

There remains the group which is based simply on friendship. Here it is futile for democracy to seek to intrude. A man must be free to make his own group of friends and to be exclusive in so doing, or friendship loses its meaning. It is natural that each man should choose his friends from those in whom he finds the most understanding and sympathetic response, and to blame him because he does not wish to take men of another race or religion or social status into that group whose value and very existence depend on intimate personal relationship, seems unreasonable and harmful to real social progress. A great deal of the happiness of life is dependent upon our ability to form such groups of kindred spirits and to keep out of them discordant and alien elements. It is in such groups that many of the finest ideas and greatest achievements of our civilization originate. Any democracy which insisted upon the elimination of all such associations of men of like ideals and cultural development for the purpose of friendship, would be likely to be harmful rather than helpful toward human progress.

Provided there is a willingness on the part of each group to recognize the value of other similar associations, and no effort on the part of any one to claim superiority or dominance, Society is much better and happier for the presence of as many small, intimate, and closely cohering groups as possible. It is probable that the real unity of the modern world can only be achieved in this way. It is only between a limited number of men in a small group that can be developed the strongest type of unification which involves a real community of soul, and it is probably through a nexus of such groups that world unity will ultimately be achieved. The process has already begun, and even now the world is becoming unified in a very curious fashion by small groups of varying types.

Each individual is a part of many groups and finds himself connected up with an intersecting mesh that brings him into vital contact with the greatest variety of men. He belongs to athletic groups that connect him with those interested in the same sports. He is a member of social groups such as clubs, or ordinary groups of friends, and shares in their ritual of dinners and dances and receptions. He belongs to cultural groups, for study, such as those of the college and university, or for the enjoyment of art, music or literature. He has his unions and associations that unite those of similar employment. He belongs to associations for humanitarian works, such as charities, hospitals and Red Cross. Finally, he is connected with certain religious groups. Nearly all of these by means of their federated system reach out over the whole country and perhaps throughout all nations. Through his athletic or religious or college group the young man of to-day finds himself connected with similar groups all over the world. He meets with their delegates, shares their ideas and, in proportion as his interests are vital, is brought into vital contact with those of similar interests everywhere. He is conscious of his unity with those of every race and nation who are pursuing the same ideals. National lines are annihilated by this network of sympathetic relations. We shall speak further of their value as a means toward international unity in the next chapter.

If the change were ever made to a society definitely organized on the Anepsiarchal basis its chief advantage would be in the constant stimulus thus provided toward achievement of higher standards. It would create that tendency to admire and imitate the higher groups which has been shown to be of such value in the case of the Samurai and Brahmins, with the advantage that the path to these groups would be open to any one who had the capacity to attain its standard. It would naturally create a ruling class similar to the voluntary Samurai described by Mr. Wells in his "Modern Utopia," and from this class of those who had attained more perfectly the highest standards of the nation

its rulers would be chosen. Thus would be done away the greatest danger of democracy, that the government, and public sentiment as well, should be controlled by the groups which have the lowest standards. Democracy tends to reduce all things,—government, art, literature and morals,—to the vulgar level of mediocrity. Anepsiarchy would involve a constant process of lifting men to higher levels of achievement. It would mean the continual advance of our standards in business, art, education and character. Democracy is a leveller. Anepsiarchy would be an escalator.

CHAPTER X

INTERNATIONAL UNITY

I. UNITY BY AUTOCRACY

THE dream of world unity has long been present in the minds of men. Many a nation, like the Jews, has had a vision of the world unified because conquered by them, converted to their religion and subjugated by their culture. Alexander nearly realized this dream and perhaps would have done so had he lived to mature years. The Romans really achieved and maintained a united world for some centuries. They failed because the emotional culture of paganism and emperor worship, which created the sense of unity, lost its hold on men's minds. Constantine's attempt to preserve world unity failed because Christianity became the State religion before it had an authoritative patriarchal head and therefore only served to divide men. The German Emperors by the aid of the Pope succeeded in reconstructing this world empire, which failed again, chiefly through the rise of Protestantism and democratic ideas. To-day we see more separate nations than ever existed in the world before, divided from one another by barriers of suspicion and rancor, developed by a long experience of cruel and unjust treatment. The patriarchal nations are held together by the old culture of religion and ceremonial, which maintains the feeling of race unity and of reverence for the patriarchal head. The democratic nations which can be held together only by a mutual agreement, and a national purpose, have not developed enough of the sense of honor or of public spirit or of enthusiasm for any single purpose to unite them, and are most of them continually on the verge of chaos resulting from private ambition and political strife.

It is a difficult matter to discuss any means of creating a world unity when each separate fragment is in itself so disunited. Were all the governments patriarchal some form

of world empire might be constructed, with the aid of the emotional culture of the Roman Church, for it is evident from the preceding chapters that no more effective patriarchal culture could be invented than that of the papacy, when applied in support of a world empire.

Democracy, however, has gained so deep a hold upon men's minds that it is doubtful if they will ever again submit to such autocratic control of thought and speech and action. It would seem, then, that unless the Roman Church changes to a more democratic institution, there is little hope that it can be used as an instrument for world unification. As it gains in power in democratic countries it is likely to come to a clash with the constitution and the law, which will result in its suppression. Hilaire Belloc has suggested in a recent article that American democracy has not yet been thoroughly tested, for it has not yet passed a law or an amendment to the Constitution which the Roman Church does not approve. He suggests that if, for example, a law enforcing birth control should be passed, every Roman Catholic would be instructed to disobey and defy it. This, of course, would mean either the suppression of the Church or the end of democracy. It would seem to show that the Roman Church and democracy are incompatible, since democracy depends upon a mutual agreement to obey majority rule, and the Church could never enter into or obey such a compact. It is worth while to consider whether there is any religious culture which if universally adopted would prove as helpful to-day to world unity as that of the Romans in the second century.

2. THE MOHAMMEDAN CULTURE

We have noted that the Mohammedan Religion came near to success as an emotional culture for world unity. It was not racial and exclusive as most other religions, and it was democratic in admitting men of all grades to an equal brotherhood. Its programme was to conquer the world and compel all men to adopt the culture of worship for one

God who was the Father and Ruler of all and to submit to the authority of Mohammed, his prophet. It succeeded in supplanting most of the ancient religions of Africa and the Near East and in uniting men of every race and tribe in a vast world brotherhood. It adopted, however, the old Jewish conception of God as an autocratic patriarchal ruler who commanded and enforced dire punishment upon every one who disobeyed the fixed code he had promulgated for all time, or who worshipped any other god. It thus unified men by cultivating the old patriarchal emotions associated with prejudice and intolerance and it must inevitably come into conflict with the democratic idea of authority as resting in the reason and conscience of the enlightened individual. For this reason as well as for its advocacy of conquest by force and its patriarchal attitude toward women it is not likely to be effective as a unification culture for the modern world.

3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA

Buddhism as applied by Asoka seemed as if it might be able to supply the unification culture needed by the world.

It created a world brotherhood on a nobler basis than that of Mohammedanism, since it rested back on the old Hindu idea of God as present in all living things, which therefore are united in Him and deserving of reverence and love. It made doing good to all living things the supreme law of the nations, and enforced the rule of right thinking and right living. No higher ideal has ever been presented to the world, but the emotional culture provided seems to have lacked reality, since it failed to grip the mind of the masses and create the feeling of God as thus present in all. Those who devoted themselves to meditation attained this consciousness, but the masses of the people seemed incapable of apprehending God in this way and soon fell back upon Hinduism and its concrete presentation of the many local gods.

The Hindu philosophy is of great value in creating a reverence for all things as manifestations of God, but it does not supply the culture needed in the modern world, since it

presents all things as worthy of worship and fails to discriminate between those things which are harmful to society and those which are helpful. In other words, it has in it no powerful ethical stimulus. The ugly and cruel and base are worshipped along with the beautiful and good and true. This Oriental point of view has been of value to democracy in teaching a reverence for all men and all things, the commonplace and secular as well as for the ceremonials of religion, and has undoubtedly influenced greatly the modern conception of God, as we shall note later on.

4. BROTHERHOOD WITHOUT FATHERHOOD

The essential for the modern world is some emotional culture that will harmonize liberty and unity. The autocratic rule provided unity at the expense of liberty and modern democratic cultures seem prone to give liberty at the expense of unity. Such apparently was the result of the experiment of the Russians until they replaced unity by a military tyranny. They sought to eliminate every patriarchal idea and to do away with the old concepts of King and God and Father and to create a Brotherhood without Fatherhood. It is difficult for men to feel that they are brothers while they deny that they have one father. The Russian sense of unity was based on common interest and the brotherhood included merely workers of a certain class. Against those who worked in other ways than by their hands their culture developed a violent antipathy and prejudice. The common aim that united them was to seize and divide equally among their group the product of human labor. When this was done there seemed to be nothing further to unite them and a return to tyranny was necessary. Unless some new culture is developed it seems doubtful if unity in Russia can be preserved in any other way than by force and fear.

5. A CULTURE ADAPTED TO WORLD DEMOCRACY

It remains to consider the culture of Primitive Christianity, which, as already shown, differs fundamentally

from that of any of the modern churches. Its platform would lead one to suppose that it was exactly designed as a culture for democratic world unity. It claims to communicate a spirit to its adherents and states that where this spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty; in other words, that the old system of patriarchal authority is done away. It also claims to create of men of all classes and races an organic unity which in its close interrelation of parts is likened to the human body and in which no one part is superior to any other, since each is essential to all. It is therefore intended to produce an emotional culture for liberty in unity. Its chief aim, moreover, was to create in all men that emotion which is the direct sense of unity and which we term brotherly love or public spirit, and its culture was so effective that it succeeded in touching the hearts of the most diverse and of the most hardened with this emotion. Its conception of God and of authority was unique among all religions in being fratriarchal and progressive. God spoke in the minds and hearts of all those who received his spirit, which was to direct them and lead them into all truth. At the same time early Christianity differed from the Hindu philosophy in giving an ethical standard, which, though flexible and adaptable, was clear and so high as to stir men's souls with the passion to attain it. That standard was Christ himself, and the only requirement put upon the Christian was he should seek to follow Christ. Christian teaching maintained that God was in all men, but made it clear that not all that was in them was God. Its ideal of greatness was also of the type that is essential to democracy, which has often failed because men who were content to live in idleness and dependence claimed to be the equals or superiors of the toilers. The Christian position was that he who rendered the greatest service to others was the greatest among them.

All these ideals and emotions were developed and enforced by ceremonials and a symbolism which was probably more powerful and effective than any other known to mankind. The great difficulty, as indicated in a preceding chapter, was to preserve unity while men held this concep-

tion of the patriarchal God, whose authority was expressed through every inspired man. For this to succeed it was necessary for each man when thus inspired to recognize also the inspiration of others, and this the early leaders failed to do. Each man claimed for his message a patriarchal authority over all others, and thus division resulted. If they had copied the first Apostles and remained together in prayer and in the spirit of love until from their various inspirations there sprang a common purpose, they would have solved the problem of democracy and produced the emotional culture it so greatly needs.

Whether it is possible to-day to return to the primitive Christian culture and make it the basis of international democratic unity is open to grave doubt. The churches are so deeply involved in the old patriarchal ideas of authority, and each one is so determined to force its own particular view upon the world and to condemn all others, that it seems unlikely that much help could be derived from them. In spite of quarrels and disputes there are indications of a growing disposition in each Protestant church to recognize the inspiration of other churches and to work with them for a common purpose. But the bitter strife of the past centuries between Christian and Jew, between Catholic and Protestant, makes it probable that any effort to institute a general religious culture bearing the name "Christian" would produce conflict rather than harmony, and it is not likely that the Roman and Jewish churches will abandon their patriarchal ideas to support any democratic form of religion. We must therefore conclude that although there is a culture at hand which might be so applied as to develop the emotions essential to a Democratic International unity, it is impossible to adopt it generally at present, and one can only hope that it will continue to influence the world indirectly and increasingly as men come to understand it and appreciate its importance.

6. NATIONALISM AS A STAGE TOWARD INTERNATIONALISM

Since there is no religious culture which can at present be used with advantage, we must inquire what other means there are to conquer the racial and national prejudice which at present divides mankind, and to create a sense of world unity. There are those who insist that in order to create such a feeling nationalism must first be destroyed. If this means that all governments should be done away that have the old patriarchal idea of creating a world unity by subjecting all others to themselves, the assertion is probably correct. It must be admitted that most modern governments have much of this spirit and that statesmen and politicians continually seek to retain their hold on the people by rousing in them hatred and fear of other nations and the desire for conquest. They have learned this ancient method of uniting the people in a common purpose through the war-like emotions and they are incapable of arousing men to unite in any great permanent national purpose, as was attempted by Washington and Lincoln. It is, however, entirely unnecessary that national governments should be the agents for creating division and suspicion that they are at present, and it can only be hoped that the present movement to do away with the old diplomacy will issue in a better understanding between the nations.

There is no reason why national feeling should conflict with internationalism. The stronger the sense of unity in each part the more securely can it be bound together with all other parts in one whole. It is much easier to hold together objects when already collected in bundles or bales or barrels than to unite them in the loose, and the same is true of men. An army, to have any real unity, must consist of coherent companies, and the stronger the bond that holds together each company the stronger the union that may be constructed from them. When each nation of Europe is perfectly united in itself, world union will be much easier to realize. This is the process that is at present in progress, —the gathering of men into groups small enough to feel

in themselves a real unity. When that is attained a federation of nations will not be difficult to achieve. The beginnings of such a federation have already been made. It will probably be more successful if each nation is left to settle its local matters as far as possible, as do the states in the American Union, and if it only hands on such questions to federal consideration as require the co-operation of the rest. The British Commonwealth is such a democratic federation, which is working most successfully. The Pan-American Union might develop into another if jealousy and suspicion of the United States could be allayed among the Latin nations. The League of Nations would probably function more successfully if it confined its efforts to Europe, or to Europe and Asia. If it succeeded in producing harmony in Europe, the chief difficulty in the way of world union would be done away. Questions affecting the whole world could then be referred to committees from these three groups, and probably could be easily arranged if each group had attained to harmony in itself.

7. WORLD UNITY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL GROUPS

In the meantime, there are certain agencies that are acting powerfully for world unification. It has been repeatedly shown that the democratic method of uniting men is by enthusiasm for a common purpose or pursuit. There are at present certain world purposes which are bringing together men of every nation in a sort of brotherhood which is stronger than any national feeling. The scientists of the world are thus united in a common aim to discover the secrets of nature. They meet together in world conferences, they share their discoveries and work together in co-operation. The same is true of doctors and surgeons, and of artists and authors. Men engaged all over the world in the same kind of business are learning to meet together in world conferences and to co-operate in their endeavor. The same is true of the youth of all nations who gather in student conferences to discuss their differences and to shape

a common ideal and purpose for the world. Even those who have no intellectual interests are meeting from all quarters of the globe for athletic contests, in which they find community of interest and endeavor. Long ago the separate states of Greece, with their wars and rivalries, were all united in the Olympian games, and this athletic contest in which they all shared served to build up and maintain a certain sense of unity. This method is even more potent to-day, and through all these agencies, athletic as well as intellectual, we see in process of creation that fine sense of honor and that public spirit which are so essential to democracy and progress. Men all over the world are being increasingly united by enthusiasm for common purposes, which bind them together across the dividing lines of race and nation, so that there is in action a constant process of weaving together the various fragments of humanity into a woof which crosses the various planes of racial cleavage and binds them with its interlacing threads of sympathy. A striking illustration of the manner in which men of antagonistic nations can be united by interest in the same cause and by enthusiasm for a man whom they admire, is found in Lindbergh's reception in France and Central America, and its effect on international relations.

8. UNITY BY INTERCOMMUNICATION

The process of world unification is aided by the amazing advance in intercommunication. The post, the press, the telegraph, the telephone, the radio,—carry the words and deeds of any man throughout the whole world with the speed of light. Democracy failed in Rome because all the inhabitants of the Empire could not be gathered in one assembly to be swayed by the same emotions and to form a common purpose. The time is not far off when the whole civilized world will be one great assembly where the voice of any great man can be heard, and where all mankind can be aroused to enthusiasm for a purpose of world importance.

This facility of communication affords a certain danger,

for it is employed by many agencies to further their own special ends, which are ordinarily to secure the prosperity and triumph of some individual or organization, rather than to work for the public welfare. Such propaganda, as it is termed, is a real menace in modern life, and often arouses violent partisanship and prejudice, in addition to the harm it does by disseminating false information. There is here undoubtedly a vast opportunity for the development of emotional cultures, and it will certainly be unfortunate if it is left to clever and unscrupulous agents to manipulate it to their selfish advantage.

There is no means by which the emotions of the public are more generally touched and influenced than by the cinema. This has also been made at times an agency for propaganda, but ordinarily it is allowed to play freely upon all those emotions which stir the masses most deeply, and by portraying crime, murder, illicit love, and all the violent selfish passions, has undoubtedly done much to stimulate these feelings in the public. It is time that some one with psychological insight should take in hand the manufacture of moving pictures and prepare through them an emotional culture which would create international sympathy and support law and order and democratic institutions. As used at present they tend to dull all the finer feelings through the constant stimulus of violent sensations.

The press is usually the organ of partisan politics of some kind, and as such it tends to arouse emotions which divide nations as well as classes and parties. In disseminating the news of the world it has a certain unifying effect, but usually sufficient bias or prejudice appears in the account of events to arouse divisive feelings. Mention has already been made of the harm done by the accounts of crime and criminals given in the newspapers. Some papers make an honest effort to be unbiassed and clean and to work for the public welfare, but such papers find weak support from the public. With both the press and the cinema, the fault is chiefly due to public taste, and it will take much education before either a fine newspaper or a really beautiful

moving picture can be made to pay as well as the cheaper and more harmful type. It might be wise to attempt a subsidized press and cinema until the public could be educated to better standards.

9. THE CREATION OF A WORLD SPIRIT BY THE PERCOLATION OF IDEAS

Although there is at present no definite culture through which ideas helpful to international unity can be brought to bear emotionally upon the public, yet these ideas are being gradually and almost imperceptibly disseminated through literature, art and music, and through the press and the drama. There is a tendency in the human mind to absorb what is most needed, and whenever the primitive Christian culture is truly presented men recognize its beauty and truth in spite of prejudices to the contrary. It is present in the teaching of all the churches, though covered over with patriarchal ideas, and it has been taken up in part as the basis upon which many groups have framed their organization and government. Its principle of freedom of thought and speech from control by sacerdotal or governmental authority is generally accepted. Its teaching that God speaks through every person who receives his spirit appears in our recognition that the ultimate authority in morals and in knowledge is found in the enlightened conscience and reason of the individual. There is an increasing dislike of prejudice and intolerance, and a growing disposition to admit that our neighbors, though they differ from us, may be as truly inspired as we. In fact it is this feeling, which was essential to the successful operation of early Christianity, which now causes the chief dissatisfaction of the public with the churches in so far as they have lapsed into bigotry and intolerance. The fundamental principle of early Christianity that brotherly love is the basis of the Kingdom of God, is generally accepted, and it is recognized that what the world needs is an increase of brotherly feeling. Most men also believe in a general brotherhood of man, founded not upon a common

descent from the apes so much as upon the fact that all share in something that is Divine. The Christian ideal never fails to appeal when it is truly presented, and men recognize that there is a higher satisfaction in living a life of loyalty to truth and of love to others than in selfishness and self-indulgence. The principles described above are found in other religions; they are not true and essential merely because taught by Christ. On the contrary, they were taught by Christ because he had the vision to see that they were essential to human society in its highest forms.

The ideas of Buddhism and Hinduism also bear their part in the forming of the new world spirit. Men do not as formerly reverence and fear the stern God of mediæval theology seated upon a great white throne to judge the men he has made, but there is an ever-increasing reverence for the God who is present everywhere in the universe he has created, in the flaming glory of the sun, in the strength of the mountains, in the grace of the bending trees, in the fragrant beauty of the flowers, in the joyous song of the birds, in the bounding life of all his creatures, and in the hearts of all men. Wherever men find beauty or truth or life, there they are learning to bow in reverence, as once they bent in awe before the sacred shrine of some mystic temple, for they feel that here is something great and mysterious and truly divine, something which deserves the worship of the soul, not because it can punish and torture and destroy, but because in it there is a power and a glory that comes from the eternal mystery.

These ideas and feelings are not developed through any one culture, as in former days. As above stated, they are disseminated through the press and the drama, through art and literature, through common conversation. They are penetrating every corner of the earth as if borne by the waves of the radio. Their clear note can be distinguished above the clangor of human strife and the clamor of passion and lust, and whenever their voice is heard it compels the admiration if not the allegiance of those who hear. Thus there is being created a world spirit,—that is, a world

ideal and an encompassing atmosphere of feeling,—which is sweeping gradually over all the earth. All men are touched by it, in spite of themselves. They recognize its authority in themselves, they feel its presence in others, and are thus brought into a sort of brotherhood of sympathy.

IO. FROM LIBERTY WITHOUT UNITY TO UNITY WITHOUT LIBERTY; UNITY BY EMOTIONAL SUPPRESSION

In all the preceding pages we have traced the development in man of those emotions which make civilization possible. We have found that man apparently started out in the bitter struggle for existence against his fellow creatures equipped with emotions and instincts that could assist him in every way in the conflict. Fear and suspicion of all that was strange, strong desires and passions, cruelty and rage were emotions that would aid him in getting what he needed from others, and were therefore of value to him, in that early stage when he obeyed the law of the jungle, and when "each for himself was still the rule." Perhaps nowhere but in the family was there any other law. From those first beginnings the development of man has been a training in the art of living together. That meant, in the first place, restraint upon the old violent self-seeking passions and desires. Where there were large numbers living in a group, a man who wanted food could no longer club his neighbor to death and plunder his cave.

These powerful, selfish emotions were at first held in check by force and fear. The larger the group the stronger the culture of fear that it was necessary to apply to hold all to that obedience to law and custom which made it possible to live and work together. This emotion was developed and cultivated by king and priest or medicine men, and in all savage tribes we find fear the predominant force. Shame perhaps was the next restraining emotion brought into play. Somewhat better than these was the feeling of reverence and awe developed by the higher religions. All these, however, produced unity by suppressing the strongest feelings

of the human soul. Although it developed a habit of united action, the effect of the constraint was harmful in part, and resulted in dwarfing the soul in spite of frequent outbreaks of the old instincts.

What we call the moral nature or the sense of duty is apparently due to this process by which men were compelled by a culture of fear or shame or awe to suppress their selfish impulses and work for the welfare of the group. This was all a process of unification by constraint. In the end it resulted in the complete suppression of the individual, either by the group, as in the Japanese village and Chinese family, or by the king or chief priest, as in Egypt or Assyria.

II. LIBERTY IN UNITY, UNITY IN EMOTIONAL EXPANSION

We have noted how alongside this process of expansion of the group by suppression of the emotions, there sprang up the other system of uniting men by fusing their emotions in the forward drive of a common purpose, such as warfare or plunder. In order to preserve unity it was necessary to choose a leader and to give him authority of life and death, so that the culture of fear had its part in holding the stragglers to the common aim.

This type of unity was likely to break up when the emotions that created it died out, unless the leader held it together by the old patriarchal culture of fear and reverence.

The great need in the world was for a type of unity without suppression that would hold men together by a forward drive or desire or passion and which could allow free play to each individual because his chief desire coincided with the welfare of the group. We found the beginnings of such a culture in Persia and in certain of the Nordic Aryan tribes. The emotions that bound them lacked permanence, however, and we found the most valuable emotion for unification to be the brotherly love cultivated by the primitive Christians and early Buddhists. It was then

necessary to devise a means other than that of autocratic authority to enable such a group to frame and carry out common purposes and to secure intelligent co-operation. The discovery of the possibility of government by means of a mutual agreement, or constitution, and the invention of the representative assembly, supplied this need. It has been explained that in order to enable this plan to succeed it was necessary to develop and cultivate a new emotion which we have termed the sense of honor, in addition to the feeling of brotherly love or public spirit. We found that although the sense of honor is somewhat negative in character and acts as a constraining force, yet it also has a forward drive, and in contrast to the disagreeable reaction from other restraining emotions, such as fear and shame, it brings with it a satisfaction as real as that attained by any desire, and a high sense of exaltation.

We have then found that in these emotions and the corresponding system of government there lies the possibility of that liberty in unity which seems fundamental to happiness and progress. Each individual is free to follow out his own development and to do his own work, yet there is in him a forward driving force which keeps him in harmony with the work of his neighbors, and there is provided a means by which he can unite with them in great achievements whose vastness and beauty bring to him a joy that he could never attain through solitary endeavor. This same system can be applied to groups as well as to individuals. When groups have been trained to work in harmony, it only remains to carry out the same process with nations and races. Each nation can be bound to the next by the same emotion of brotherly love, and can work in harmony with it by the same plan of a mutual agreement sustained by a sense of honor. Men may object that human nature must be changed for such a plan to work. Any one who has perused the preceding pages must see that human nature has been changed repeatedly in the most astounding ways in a few generations by the steadfast application of an emotional culture. It is only needed to apply such a culture with

half the vigor that was shown by the old patriarchal system, to achieve the needed results.

12. INTERNATIONAL HARMONY

It must be in this way that the ultimate perfect harmony or liberty in unity will be worked out,—each individual free yet working in co-operation with others, each group and class free to pursue its own ends and yet aiding in the progress of the nation; each nation developing a civilization of its own, yet contributing to bring all mankind to greater knowledge and happiness. Just as in a great orchestra each individual plays his own part and each group has its score, and yet each blends with the rest to produce a harmony whose beauty and power transcend the utmost achievement of a single man, so the democratic liberty in unity should work out a harmony of its own, in which every kind of human labor, every social class, every art and philosophy, every race and nation will bear its part, with no other restraint than the joy of co-operation. Each performer will obey the slightest gesture of the conductor not through fear, but because thus the melody of his own life finds its most beautiful expression. Some may regard this as an impossible dream, but such a voluntary harmony of co-operation is the only hope of democracy. It affords the only possibility of ultimate prosperity and happiness for all. It is the goal toward which, consciously or unconsciously, we are progressing, as the old selfish passions are gradually submerged in a broadening social consciousness, and as the howl of the primitive beast is lost at last in the low tones of human sympathy. To direct so vast an orchestra is beyond the powers of any man or group. And yet out of the welter of discord and conflict, through the mere force of events, there seems to arise a faint echo of the harmony that is to be. We do not appreciate it until some unexpected calamity or war throws the whole of society out of tune and out of time, and in the resulting chaos we realize how subtle and mysterious in its power has been the harmony thus interrupted.

Sometimes in the right mood one seems to catch the echo of it, that stupendous harmony produced from all the multitudinous sounds of human life blended in one vast orchestra. Does it take too optimistic an imagination to hear it even now? In place of the cymbals and trumpets and drums sounds the deep reverberating roar of a nation's industry, the clash and rattle of wheels, the clang of hammer on anvil, the hum of the factory, the blare of ten thousand whistles, each no longer sounding a defiance to the rest, but harmonized in one stupendous diapason. And above it the sounds that rise from a million homes, the clatter of pans, the clink of the dishes, the noises of cleaning and sweeping, the happy cries of children, a music like that of the wind instruments in time to the stroke of the triangle, no longer the discordant jangling of each family against the next, but all in tune and time; and above them again, like the poignant vibration of the violin and 'cello, sounds all the melody of human thought,—art and literature and drama,—all the passion and hopes and fears of the human heart, all the visions and dreams and longings of men of every race and nation, their vibrant calls rising about the thunderous diapason of industry, and the mellow instruments of home toil,—clearer ever and higher in one supreme harmony that chants the glory and beauty of the universe, the joy of life, and the praise of that eternal and mysterious power that throbs in the hearts of all men, and to whose rhythmic pulse all creation beats in time.

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